

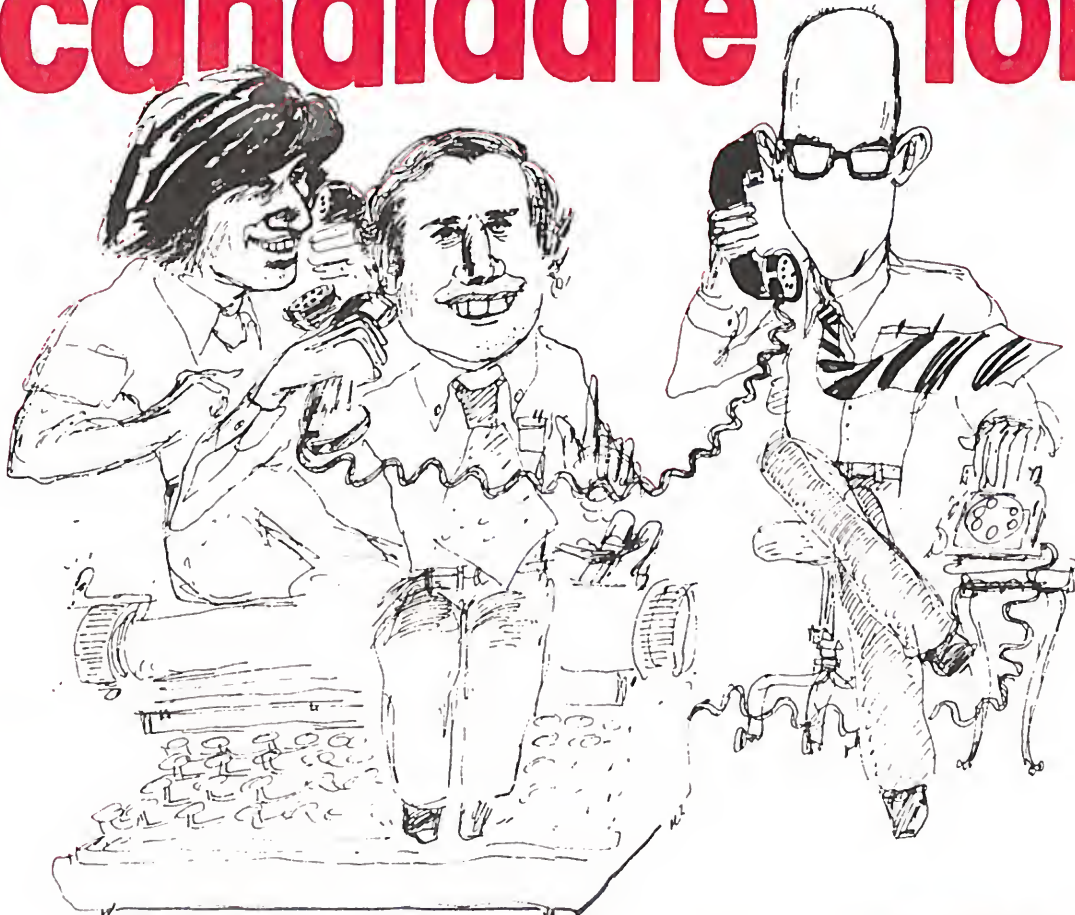
VOLUME 10, NUMBER 66/85¢

# FOCUS

## MIDWEST

A MAGAZINE SENSITIVE TO THE REALITIES IN OUR SOCIETY

# "candidate for



# deep throat?"

■ Kansas City: news media placid, pompous, and prejudiced ■

■ St. Louis: region groping for identity ■ Chicago: "Teacher, The Sky Is Falling!" ■

# OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

---

The anti-gun control lobby got out a huge crowd in Jefferson City to impress Missouri legislator earlier this year, — except that the feared control legislation was dead weeks earlier. More than 1,000 duped person attended the Senate Public Health, Welfare and Environment Committee hearing called by Sen. William J. Cason — as part of his campaign for governor.

---

A report filed with the Illinois State Board of Elections showed that \$104 was spent by a group supporting Treasurer Alan J. Dixon to buy king-sized bed sheets, a blanket and a bedspread for his apartment in Springfield. A spokesman for Dixon said the bed sheets etc., were a legitimate political expense because the treasurer uses his Springfield apartment for political purposes . . . . Meanwhile George W. Lehr, Missouri's Democratic State Auditor, complained that "it's difficult for men of limited means to be in public office" when questioned on his involvement in the purchase of a Kansas City bank.

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The *Congressional Record* records not only what is said in Congress, but what members want people to believe they would have said had they been present. There is no way to tell one from the other. There is no typographical distinction between inserted speeches and those which were actually delivered. The same thing happens on every major bill that passes either the House or Senate. This practice merges the said with the unsaid, which leaves readers with no certain record of what actually took place on the floor and it makes it difficult for executive agencies to determine what Congress actually intended to do in passing a law.

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"... I find it rather incredible, but not surprising, that Common Cause, the so-called citizens lobby, has yet to file its March 10, 1975, financial disclosure report with the Clerk of the House. . ."

*Remarks by Rep. Wayne L. Hays (D Ohio), Congressional Record, April 8.*

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In an address to the Conference on Public Safety in Columbia, Missouri, John C. Danforth, Attorney General of Missouri, expressed his dismay that many more people consider society rather than the individual responsible for lawlessness, according to a 1970 Gallup Poll. In his suggestions for "the most meaningful priorities" to "make our homes the training ground for law abiding citizens" he lists: Turn off violent TV programs, talk to our kids, teach them the difference between right and wrong, discipline them when they need it, go to church, control ourselves, be good examples, observe standards of morality, and act as though the future of the civilized world depends on the behavior of each one of us.

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Private health insurance companies took in \$24.5 billion in premiums in 1973 and paid out \$21.6 billion in benefits. However, they lost money since the \$2.9 billion difference was not enough to pay "operating expenses."

*— From Health Security News*

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Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUNGATE. I have two more jokes.

Exchange between Reps. Abner J. Mikva (D Ill.) and William L. Hungate (D Mo.),

*Congressional Record, May 22.*

---

The American press reported — with just so much of a snicker — that 283 tons of American lemons were dumped into the Pacific when Japanese authorities in Yokohama learned that they were treated with ortho-phenyl-phenol, an antiseptic that is illegal in Japan. Some radio commentators even speculated that there would be a lot of lemon juice around Japanese shores. Not one of the media speculated that what is harmful to Japanese may also be harmful to Americans.

---

A group of "gay Nazis" is being organized, particularly on the West Coast, according to right-wing watchers there. Called the *National Socialist League*, it is an embarrassment to both the established American Nazis and to the gay Liberation movement.

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**COVER DESIGN AND ART**  
Design of cover and art  
on pages 17, 18, 19, and 20  
by Daniel Pearlmutter

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Page 10: Hunt, Haldeman, Ehrlichman  
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Page 12: Bernstein and Woodward

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#### OUT OF FOCUS

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Near Record Levels in 1974

Group Ratings (1975)

Trend to Liberalization Seen in Both Houses

## *And that's the way it is*

These days it seems that Norman Lear might be secretly putting together some of the news stories that move on the wire services and over the networks.

We hear reports that an agency of our federal government hired the mafia to bump off the leaders of some governments we didn't agree with. Later a former employee of the same agency says he's pretty sure Lee Harvey Oswald was set up, that he probably didn't kill President Kennedy or anyone else.

We get these two revelations on top of the news that the late director of the FBI used to collect and edit his own pornographic tabloid on prominent public officials and send it over to the White House. There, we are told, one of our recent Presidents revealed in such slime before he went to bed every night.

We discover that the guardians of our security, the U. S. Army, co-operating with the Chicago police, financed and directed right-wing terrorist activities in northern Illinois, providing tear gas, mace, electronic surveillance equipment and money.

And talking on the level of Chicago city politics, we have the Intelligence Division of the Chicago police acting as lookouts and facilitating a break-in of the Young Socialist offices and then sharing the stolen membership lists with the para-military Minuteman organization for harassment and threats.

Remember those young college kids who had lost all faith in the system and no longer revered the principles that had made this country of ours so great? Maybe they were just a little bit ahead of us in their perception that the nation itself has abandoned the principles that made it great. On the other hand, irony of ironies, where are those bright college kids now that we still need them?

Next thing, you know, we'll have a President who professes to be for law and order while he and his palace guard go quietly about trying to steal the country itself right out from under our collective apathetic noses all in the name of "national security."

And, coming next year, another milestone event which even Norman Lear might have had difficulty concocting: The United States Bi-centennial celebration. Show and tell time to the rest of the world that the system is really working. It will be presided over by a President and a Vice President — neither of whom have been elected by the people of the United States.

Maybe that's the best we can expect under this system or any system for that matter. Anyway, that's the way it is.

## *Want to own a VHF Channel?*

Minority groups and others who failed to get in on the allocation of VHF television frequencies when they were handed out in the 1940's and 1950's may now have another chance, reports *Access* magazine, published by Nicholas Johnson, former FCC member.

Various studies have shown that within the existing spectrum new channels could be "dropped in" (hence they are called drop-ins) — although estimates differ on how many. An FCC study says that 30 could be added in 27 states, while an Office of Telecommunications Policy study claims that 61 channels could be added in 41 cities.

The VHF's, says *Access*, are the prize plums, "Minority groups want first crack at the new channels because no minority-owned VHF television station exists in the continental United States. But public

television wants the channels, also, claiming the chief reason it has never attracted enough viewers is because it is mostly relegated to weaker UHF frequencies."

The 41 cities in the OTP report include Kansas City in Missouri and Rock Island (Ill.)-Davenport (Ind.), Springfield, and Decatur-Champaign in the Illinois area.

Any citizens can participate in the allocation process on these channels by urging the FCC to allocate new channels and then to guard that the channels are awarded to applicants who will serve the public. Comments are invited by the FCC up to October 15.

## *WCFL license renewed*

Three Illinois citizen groups have not unexpectedly lost for the second time in their five-year-old battle to deny the license renewal of WCFL-AM (Chicago), owned by the Chicago Federation of Labor. The three groups — Better Broadcasting Council, Inc., the Task Force for Community Broadcasting, and Illinois Citizens Committee for Broadcasting — petitioned to deny WCFL's 1970 renewal application, charging among other things that WCFL improperly classified certain programs as public affairs presentations, fired a newsmen after Mayor Richard Daley complained to the manager about unfavorable coverage, and broadcast most of its public affairs programming during "off hours." The Commission eventually granted WCFL's renewal without a hearing. The groups took an appeal, and, faced with near-certain defeat in the U. S. Court of Appeals, the Commission pleaded the court to let it reconsider its original decision. The Commission wanted to reconsider its conclusion that there was no pattern of misclassification which demonstrated deliberateness (even though it conceded one misclassification). What the Commission had forgotten through "oversight" to consider was a letter it sent to WCFL pointing out that eleven programs classified by the station as public affairs "did not appear to be in accord with the Commission's program definitions." (In the meanwhile, the station was scrutinized by the FCC for giving misleading time checks during drive-time to bolster its ratings.)

The Commission agreed that the large number of misclassifications raised a question as to whether WCFL was guilty of deliberate misrepresentation. However, it set for hearing only this issue — considered to be the most trivial of all the issues raised by the groups, and an issue on which no renewal has ever been denied.

On June 9, Administrative Law Judge Thomas Fitzpatrick decided that WCFL had gone through enough trouble and could keep its license.

[Moral: The FCC has discovered an ingenious way to cover up its blunders, sew citizen groups, and keep bad broadcasters in business. 1. When confronted with a bad licensee and a petition to deny, renew the license without designation of hearing. 2. Then, if faced with a sure reversal in court, contritely plead for the case back to correct some "oversights." 3. After getting the case back, designate for hearing only the most trivial issue, which, even if proved, would not jeopardize a license renewal. 4. Absolve the broadcaster, and use that decision as precedent for similarly "tough" cases in the future.]

(The above has been reprinted from *Access* magazine.)

## *No better with the pen*

In four statewide campaigns in Illinois, W. Dakin Williams has managed to impress little upon voters other than his fraternal relationship to the great American playwright, Tennessee.

Unfortunately, W. Dakin has launched his fifth statewide campaign by making resoundingly clear that the relationship of he and Tennessee is not only no political qualification but is also no literary one. Blood may be thicker than water but literary gifts are apparently not endowed by blood.

W. Dakin made this clear by singing his campaign song at the recent Springfield news conference at which he announced his candidacy for governor. The song, to the tune of "Coming Round the Mountain:"

"He will clean up Illinois when he comes,  
He will knock out old Dan Walker  
when he comes,  
He'll make Percy cry for mercy,  
He'll make Dixon look like Nixon,  
But they'll cast their votes for Dakin  
when he comes."

One can only hope Dakin Williams is doing well with his Collinsville law practice. He hasn't done well with the political sword and now we know he's no better with the pen.

## *ERA opponents deserve the ax*

All men are created equal and the legislatures of Illinois and Missouri have found it timely to redefine the principle to include male and exclude female persons. At least that's what they probably think they've done by withholding their states' support from the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution. In reality they've simply slowed the process toward eliminating the existence under law of discriminatory practices based on sex and affecting both men and women.

We say slowed with deliberation, because these two bumbling bodies are not enough to stop the process. The legal declaration of equal rights without regard to sex is an idea whose time has come and equal rights cannot be stopped by state legislatures that live in the past.

For all men (human persons, black and white, male and female) are created with equal rights. The 199-year-old Declaration of Independence of the United States of America did not make this so, it simply stated a self-evident truth.

When close to a hundred years after that declaration the people of the United States determined not to make black men equal for equal they had been created -- but to declare the self-evident truth of black men's equality and to ensure recognition to that equality under law, the people adopted the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution. Today, almost 200 years after the Declaration of Independence, the people of the United States are being asked not to make women equal -- for equal they have been created -- but to declare the self-evident truth of women's equality and to ensure recognition to that equality under law.

The people of the United States have shown themselves in public opinion polls and political action ready for that declaration. The Illinois and Missouri legislatures have shown themselves behind the times. Those legislators responsible deserve the political ax as promised by the women's rights movement.

## IN THIS ISSUE

"Candidate for Deep Throat" by Richard H. Popkin and Barry Glassner offers a new perspective on Watergate events and particularly focusses on Robert F. Bennett, a mysterious operator who has managed to stay out of the public limelight.

The Chamber of Commerce approach to life in the midwest symbolized by Picasso's art in Chicago's Civic Center, the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, or the pretty fountains throughout Kansas City, does reflect some part of life in this region but that is about all that can be said. Life in this region is "pockmarked with deep-seated conflicts," as Ernest Calloway puts it. Robert McGill's short stories about St. Louis, Dennis B. Fradin's experiences in the Chicago school system, Calloway's historic review of the bi-state St. Louis region, and Harness's description of the state of the media in Kansas City, add, in our opinion, worthwhile insights to understanding the other parts of the midwest.

In our continuing research into the political behavior of state and congressional legislators in Missouri and Illinois, articles in this issue focus on the new House Democrats, the conservative coalition, voting participation, and ratings by several interest groups.

We want to share a further thought with our readers on the "deep throat" report.

The conjecture that Robert F. Bennett might be "deep throat" has been criticized on the ground that he couldn't have known about the Watergate events. As FOCUS/Midwest readers study Popkin and Glassner's article, this contention is challenged by many facts cited. Further evidence that Bennett may have knowledge about Watergate is a CIA memo first revealed by Sen. Howard H. Baker, Jr.

A July 1974 report issued by Sen. Baker on possible CIA involvement in Watergate included a reference to the 1972 CIA memo which reported detailed knowledge of the Watergate incident, which had occurred just the previous month. Baker wrote that the memo "suggests that the (CIA) agency might have to level with Mullen about the 'WH flap.'"

The CIA claims that the reference was to a "Western Hemisphere" spy story but Bennett himself thought the reference concerned a "White House flap."

Bennett's name also figures in very recent charges that Alexander P. Butterfield, a high Nixon official, worked for the CIA. Butterfield, who revealed to senate investigators the existence of the White House tapes, was charged by retired Air Force Colonel L. Fletcher Prouty with being a CIA "contact man" through Bennett's firm, the Robert R. Mullen Co., much the same as Prouty said he himself had been for the military.

Robert F. Bennett is a man of many parts.

# Letters

## NOBODY LIKES US

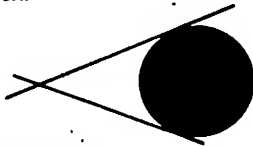
FM: We did not subscribe for the school year 1974-75, because your magazine was not suitable for Elementary (sic) children — too old and pornography (sic).

Pearl Woods, Librarian  
Phoenix, Oregon

## RE: H & W COUNCIL

SJR: Your editorial on the former St. Louis Health and Welfare Council was, unfortunately, only too true. But in view of the personalities, social ties, and business interests involved, wider community interests didn't have a chance.

Name Withheld



By O. C. KARL

## MISSOURI POLITICS

In the last issue of FOCUS/Midwest, the Missouri Politics column reported that former Governor Warren E. Hearnes appeared to be the early Democratic favorite in the race to succeed Stuart Symington in the United States Senate. "And the principal issue seems to be," the column said, "that if Hearnes is not indicted for wrongdoing in his gubernatorial administration, he is qualified for the United States Senate."

Since then, Hearnes has considerably furthered his position as the favorite among Democratic Party leaders. He hasn't been indicted yet and daily endorsements of his candidacy have been pouring forth from Democratic office-holders in town and city halls — and the State House.

But we still think nonindictment a strange qualification for public office. And the pat endorsements have done little to change this opinion. Like Hearnes's own statements on his candidacy, the endorsements have a hollow ring. They seem to ignore the two most basic questions facing the state Democratic Party in choosing a senatorial candidate: Who can best serve the people of Missouri in the Senate and who can get to the Senate by defeating the Republican nominee?

We're not surprised those questions are ignored in the endorsements because we don't think Warren Hearnes is the answer to either.

Hearnes is not the answer to the first question for more reasons than one. No. 1, of course, involves the questionable uses of political influence in his administration already made evident by a federal grand jury

investigation whether or not that investigation leads to a personal indictment. But the other reasons are at least as important. They involve the rural biases and parochial vision that so limited Hearnes's ability as governor to deal with the urban problems and universal modern crises afflicting the state. Such vision would be even more limiting in the Senate and would do little to serve Missouri's interests there.

For all the same reasons, Warren Hearnes

is not the answer to the second question facing the state Democratic Party either. The political scandals surrounding him and his hackneyed response to national issues are not apt to inspire many voters in post-Watergate times. Quite simply, he will be no match for Attorney General John C. Danforth in 1976.

Why then all the endorsements?

Probably because too many Democratic Party leaders in the state still accept Warren

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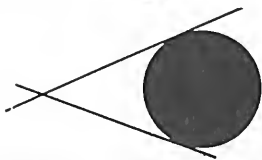
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Hearn's brand of politics — that political friendship and past favors are to be the measure of party selection; that party bosses can deliver the vote regardless of public popularity. Like his views on issues, we think that view of politics is outdated. Missouri voters proved it in the last gubernatorial election; if Democratic party leaders didn't learn the lesson Missouri voters will be ready to give a repeat lesson in 1976. ■■



## THE CITIES

### THE CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL AND REDUCED FARES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

The June 9th City Council meeting saw the emergence for the first time this year of a strong liberal coalition of both administration and minority Aldermen. Prompted by a suggestion by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of an unemployment C.T.A. fare, Aldermen **Esther Saperstein** (administration, 49th Ward) and **Dick Simpson** (independent, 44th Ward) with eight cosponsors from the black and liberal wards introduced a resolution asking C.T.A. to begin a special unemployment fare similar to the senior citizen and school children fares already in operation.

The City administration faced with such a coalition and with such a popular issue immediately stole the idea and offered a slightly modified resolution which passed unanimously June 9th and the Saperstein/Simpson version was sent to committee for study. In the fall an effort to force City Council hearings on the Saperstein/Simpson resolution will begin.

The City administration resolution differed in one major respect. It placed the responsibility on the State of Illinois Bureau of Unemployment Compensation to issue reduced-fare tokens. The Saperstein/Simpson resolution called upon the Chicago Transit Authority to begin the program and apply later for state subsidies similar to state subsidization of senior citizen and school fares. Since the passage of the City administration resolution, there has been a massive cut-back of all state programs of at least 6% by the Governor. Therefore, immediate state funding looks unlikely and the state unemployment service has not begun the program. Moreover, it faces major crises in its regular programs and internal administration.

Obviously, assistance to the unemployed is a powerful issue if it could bring a coalition between administration and minority aldermen and if the city administration felt

compelled to immediately adopt the proposal as its own. There are in Chicago currently 135,000 persons receiving unemployment compensation (this figure does not take into account the large number of people who have not applied for benefits but are looking for work or the much larger number on welfare or Social Security programs). This is smaller than the 309,000 senior citizens registered for the C.T.A. senior citizen fare. The C.T.A. receives from the state \$12 million in subsidies for seniors and \$10 million for students. Yet the plight of the unemployed can be worse than that of senior citizens. A worker who lost a \$9,000-a-year job can receive only \$35 a week from the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation while the average senior citizen receives \$43 a week. The proposed reduced fare has the particular advantage of allowing the unemployed to search more widely for employment and to return to work.

State Rep. **John G. Fary** (D), a Chicago tavern owner, won his predicted victory for Illinois' 5th District House seat in a special election July 8. Fary, 64, easily defeated his Republican opponent, **Rev. Francis X. Lawlor**, 57, a controversial Catholic priest.

Fary, the candidate of the Democratic machine of Chicago Mayor **Richard J. Daley**, is known in Illinois chiefly for sponsoring a law legalizing bingo. At an election party in his tavern, according to one newspaper story, he said: "Those bingo-playing grandmas and Mayor Daley made this election victory possible."

### A LETTER FROM THE ST. LOUIS POSTMASTER

The press and U.S. senators were scolded in a letter to the editor appearing in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (July 13), by St. Louis Postmaster **Claude I. Bakewell**. Using his official title, Bakewell proved himself a good "company man."

The full text of his letter follows:

*Isn't the publication of the CIA's planned assassination of Fidel Castro an open invitation for a retaliatory attempted assassination of President Ford? It seems that the publicity-hungry senators should exercise more prudence for the concern of our country and our President. This goes for the press also.*

*Claude I. Bakewell  
St. Louis Postmaster  
U.S. Postal Service*

The ignorance which the letter displays is remarkable. And it also helps to raise another question — that of possible collusion between the CIA and the U.S. Postal Service in breaking the law.

**The Ignorance:** Does Mr. Bakewell think that just because U.S. citizens were unaware of what the CIA was doing that Fidel Castro too was uninformed? That would be very naive. In fact most of us were like the wife

who had a husband who cheated on her regularly: we were the *last* to know.

In the July 12 issue of the *New York Times*, a Reuter's story had Castro acknowledging some 40 to 60 plots against his life, many "credited" to the CIA. The *Times* noted that Castro "said it was good for the United States people to know about CIA activities because there was no example in contemporary history of a government agency trying to murder foreign leaders."

Does Bakewell prefer ignorance on the part of Americans to justice? Or does he imply that these virtues are inapplicable to nations? Are legislators who search for trouble to be branded as "publicity-hungry?" What of postmasters who write letters?

The entire question of freedom of the press, which in part means *obligation of the press*, is certainly raised here. If the media learns that persons in our government are acting immorally, should the media remain silent because it may give others wrong ideas?

Andrew Hamilton, in defending Peter Zenger in New York in 1735, established forever, we can hope, how precious freedom of the press must be in this nation: "It is agreed upon by all men that this is a reign of liberty, and while men keep within the bounds of truth, I hope they may with safety both speak and write their sentiments of the conduct of men in power . . ."

**The Collusion:** Since Mr. Bakewell insists that the crimes of the CIA be officially hidden, it does remind us of a question regarding illegal letter opening by the CIA (and FBI) and the role that certain postmasters must have played in those law breaking incidents. Surely the federal spy agencies could not have searched through the mails — which they have admitted doing — without the cooperation of postal officials.

Perhaps Mr. Bakewell would like to write another letter to explain that. Or possibly my request is "publicity-hungry" and requires the exercise of "more prudence" lest the enemy get the idea to do the same thing.

— Harry Cargas

### KANSAS CITY SCHOOL TAX PROPOSITION

In opposing Kansas City's \$5-million sales tax proposition for the schools, the city's N.A.A.C.P. branch stated: "We cannot understand how a school board which has dropped all efforts to desegregate and is willing to give up \$10 million in federal funds, can in good faith go begging the people for \$5 million in sales tax. Nor can we understand the irresponsible waste of the taxpayer's money in excessive litigation to defy the law of the land."

Neither Kansas City officials nor the pro-tax *Kansas City Star* have managed to answer this fundamental question.

Kansas City voters, however, have ap-

*Continued on page 21*



# "candidate for



# deep throat?"

RICHARD H. POPKIN AND BARRY GLASSNER

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A crucial Watergate figure has remained nearly invisible to the American public in the long unraveling of the burglary conspiracy and the subsequent cover-up of that and other White House horrors. Yet that nearly invisible figure may have been most instrumental in bringing about the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon.

He is Robert F. Bennett, 42, a man little known to the public but well connected to several sources of power in the United States. Bennett, the son of former Senator Wallace Bennett (R-Utah), has had close ties to the Nixon White House, the Committee to Re-elect the President, the Central Intelligence Agency and the business empire of billionaire recluse Howard Hughes.

When the Watergate burglary was being planned, Bennett was president of the Robert Mullen Co., a Washington-based public relations agency with known ties to the CIA. Among its employees then was E. Howard Hunt, the Watergate conspirator; among its clients, Howard Hughes, the mysterious billionaire with his own Nixon and CIA ties.

Recently declassified documents of the CIA and a congressional committee show that Bennett was a major source of Watergate information for Washington Post reporter Bob Woodward, who with Carl Bernstein broke the major news stories uncovering the coverup. And these and other documents suggest that Bennett may well have been the "Deep Throat," whom Woodward has described as his principal source, or someone of Bennett's stature and connections.

If so, Bennett, in playing the informer role, may have successfully covered up his own role in Watergate or White House events as well as still unrevealed roles of the Mullen Co., the Hughes empire and the CIA.

An analysis of confidential White House memos, secret Watergate Committee sessions, CIA documents and other official reports uncovers a fascinating story of Robert Bennett.

### Hughes' Man in Washington

Bennett joined the Mullen Company in January, 1971, and became president in September, 1971. He brought the Howard Hughes Tool Company account to this mysterious public relations organization. The Mullen Company's clients may also have included Global Marine Corp., the Hughes subsidiary which built the Glomar Explorer to assist the CIA in recovering a sunken Soviet submarine.

Although the Mullen Company reportedly went out of business in 1974, Bennett still serves Howard Hughes. At present, Bennett is public relations director for the Summa Corporation, an umbrella firm entirely owned by Hughes.

Bennett had worked with the Nixon re-election committee and was highly thought of by top White House aides. A White House memo dated January 26, 1971 quotes John W. Dean notifying H. R. Haldeman, "Chuck Colson informs me that Bob Bennett is a trusted and good friend of the Administration." Indeed, in one of Colson's own memos, he refers to Bennett as "a trusted loyalist and a good friend."

Two days after Dean's memo, Haldeman replied that Bennett could help obtain information about the Lawrence O'Brien-Howard Hughes connection. O'Brien, then Democratic Party chairman, had just left his job as public relations consultant for Hughes. Haldeman hoped to leak embarrassing details, but urged Dean to keep Bennett "out of it at all cost."

Long before the Watergate break-in and related illegal activities, Bennett was intimately involved in events which anticipated Watergate.

The Mullen Co. office on Pennsylvania Avenue was

located across the street from the Committee to Re-elect the President, and a block from the White House. The company employed not more than five senior male employees, including E. Howard Hunt.

Hunt started to work for the Mullen Co. and the CIA on May 1, 1970, after his alleged retirement from the CIA. According to Bennett, the CIA pressured the Mullen Co. to hire their veteran spy.

Hunt says he discovered the CIA link with the Mullen Co. "by seeing persons whom I identified with the agency call on Mr. Mullen from time to time." In his memoirs, Hunt notes that the Mullen Co. accountant was a CIA retiree, and that "the Mullen Co. in Europe was staffed, run and paid for by the CIA."

Bennett's early activities for the Mullen Co. remain hazy. It is known, however, that he was actively raising funds for the Nixon re-election, including a reported \$300,000 from the Association of Milk Producers.

Following an internal dispute, Bennett agreed that Hunt would work part-time for both the White House and the Mullen Co. On July 6, 1971, Hunt officially went on the White House payroll as "the White House expert on the origins of the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war."

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*"Woodward is suitably grateful  
for the fine stories and by-lines  
which he gets, and protects  
Bennett (and the Mullen Co.)."*

*CIA Agent Eric Eisenstadt*

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Later the same day Bennett suggested to Hunt a person who could give damaging material about Senator Edward Kennedy's Chappaquiddick incident. Hunt's report on the incident was eventually burned by the then acting FBI director, L. Patrick Gray.

It is significant that a year and a half after Hunt's investigation, Bennett leaked the story to Washington Post reporter Bob Woodward, who in his newspaper account, and later in the Woodward-Bernstein book about their Watergate reporting, "All the President's Men," never identifies Bennett as the source of his information.

According to a March 1973 CIA document written by agent Eric Eisenstadt, "Woodward is suitably grateful for the fine stories and by-lines which he gets, and protects Bennett (and the Mullen Co.). Typical is the article, 'Hunt Tried to Recruit Agent to Probe Senator Kennedy's Life' on page A-16 of the Saturday, February 10, 1973 Washington Post."

Hunt's services were soon requested again by Bennett. The Mullen Company's important client, Howard Hughes, needed intelligence on Clifford Irving, who had announced his forthcoming biography of Hughes. According to Hunt, Bennett asked Hunt for advice on how to intercept and inspect Irving's household refuse.

Also during this pre-Watergate period Bennett was involved in the Dita Beard ITT scandal. Senator Howard



**E. HOWARD HUNT, JR.**

Robert F. Bennett decided on June 19 that Hunt was involved in Watergate. In Woodward's book, "Deep Throat" advises Woodward on June 19 that Hunt is involved in Watergate.



**CHARLES W. COLSON**

Bennett exposed Hunt to the press and "Deep Throat" told Woodward to check the Chuck Colson-Hunt relationship.



**H. R. HALDEMAN**

Haldeman ordered, "Keep Bennett out of it at all costs," and Woodward writes that "Deep Throat" had a position in the executive branch of extreme sensitivity.



**JOHN EHRLICHMAN**

"Deep Throat" revealed to Woodward that Ehrlichman had ordered Hunt to leave Washington — a fact which only Bennett knew aside from the central Watergate figures.

H. Baker, Jr. reports that still classified executive-session testimony by Bennett indicates "Bennett coordinated the release of Dita Beard's statement from Denver, after contacting Beard's attorney at the suggestion of a Hughes executive."

### Las Vegas Break In

Bennett apparently performed other dirty tricks for Hughes another time as well. In December 1971, former top Hughes executive Robert Maheu sued Hughes for libel. Hughes' employees were led to believe that several Hughes memoranda which might be damaging to the case were hidden in the safe of Hank Greenspun, editor of the Las Vegas Sun.

Hunt claims that Bennett put him in contact with a Hughes company official concerning the contents of Greenspun's safe. Hunt says Bennett was attempting "to bring together two parties whom he conceived would have a mutual interest in an operation."

Since Hunt worked for the White House, his interest had been aroused by Bennett's remark that the Greenspun safe contained "information which, if made public, would 'blow Ed Muskie out of the water.'"

A burglary may or may not have occurred. Editor Greenspun claims the safe was entered, but Hunt denies it.

Whether or not the Greenspun robbery was actually accomplished, its planning is extremely important to subsequent Watergate events. The testimony of both Jeb Stuart Magruder and Hunt indicates that former Attorney General John N. Mitchell approved a "feasibility study" of such a burglary. He may have done so because stories by Jack Anderson and the New York Times appearing just then indicated a scandal was about to break concerning money Hughes gave to Charles (Bebe) Rebozo (a close friend of President Nixon), and that Greenspun had hundreds of Hughes memos in his safe.

However, at the same meeting, Mitchell denied approval of G. Gordon Liddy's notorious Operation Gemstone for spying on the Democratic Party.

It was for the Greenspun burglary — which Bennett himself facilitated (if it took place) — that Hunt and Liddy gathered together the team of McCord and the Miami Cubans, which later broke into the Watergate.

And according to Hunt, Bennett was aware of spying against the Democrats prior to the Watergate break-in.

### Friend of Bennet's Nephew Recruited as Spy

Recently declassified material from hearings before Representative Lucien Nedzi's Special Subcommittee on Intelligence also reveal that Hunt recruited a spy, who was a friend of Bennett's nephew.

Hunt had asked Bennett to recommend someone to spy on the headquarters of Democratic nominees. Bennett was trying to get his nephew a job with the Committee to Re-elect the President at the time. The nephew was not interested, but suggested Thomas J. Gregory, his classmate at Brigham Young University. Gregory was soon hired.

While working at the McGovern office, the student gave Hunt and Liddy floor diagrams of key offices of McGovern aides. Gregory also took James McCord on two tours through McGovern headquarters, to assist McCord in locating a place to install bugging equipment.

Gregory was once asked to stay late at the McGovern office and leave a door open for someone to enter and install a bug.

Two days prior to the Watergate break-in, Gregory developed "moral uneasiness" about his job, but he feared quitting and sought Bennett's advice.

In his testimony before the Nedzi committee, Bennett quotes the student as saying, "Mr. Hunt is a powerful man. I am afraid of what might happen to me if I should quit."

Bennett says he responded, "Come on, Tommy, you're exaggerating things. This is just Howard. He works for me. This is not a great, powerful man."

The following day Bennett arranged for termination of Gregory's employment with Hunt.

### Delivered Messages to Hunt

Bennett also relayed secret messages between Hunt and conspirator G. Gordon Liddy after the break-in. During this period in 1972 Bennett eagerly leaked information to the press and the CIA about Watergate events, while concealing the curious activities of his CIA front organization, the Mullen Company.

Bennett's first known aid to the news media was rendered on June 19, 1972, only two days after the break-in at Democratic National Headquarters.

Washington Post reporter Woodward had found Hunt's name in an address book carried by one of the Watergate



*G. GORDON LIDDY*

Bennett relayed messages between Hunt and Liddy while Hunt was hiding.



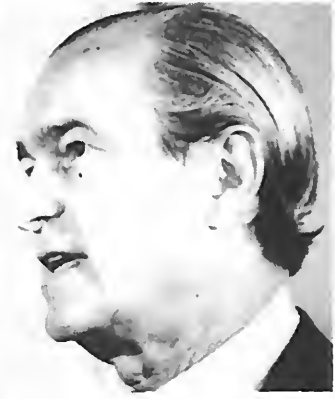
*H. M. (HANK) GREENSPUN*

Planning to break Hank Greenspun's safe, Hunt and Liddy assembled McCord and the Cubans. Hunt claims that Bennett informed him about the contents of the safe and put him in contact with Hughes officials.



*HOWARD HUGHES*

Woodward failed to break the story about the Greenspun burglary and the Hughes \$100,000 donation to Nixon — both involving Bennett.



*RICHARD M. HELMS*

Bennett informed CIA Chief Helms almost immediately about the Watergate incident.

burglars. From a White House secretary Woodward discovered that Hunt could be reached at the Mullen Co.

Woodward says in "All The President's Men" that Hunt refused to comment, but Bennett informed Woodward, "I guess it's no secret that Howard was with the CIA."

Also on June 19 Bennett began relaying messages between Hunt and Liddy while Hunt was hiding in various places around the country.

According to Bennett's own testimony before Representative Lucien Nedzi's Special Subcommittee on Intelligence, Liddy called Bennett and said, "It is perfectly all right for you as his employer to be looking for him, but we think it would not be well for me to be looking for him." Thus a legitimate cover for the secret communication was established.

Senator Baker states in his report on CIA involvement in Watergate, "Bennett served as the point of contact between Hunt and Liddy during the two weeks following the Watergate breakin."

Apparently at this time Bennett was an important source too for the CIA. In a July 10, 1972, memo, CIA agent Marty Lukasky reported on a meeting he had with Bennett "to be brought up to date on developments resulting from the Watergate five incident."

### Reports to CIA

Lukasky said that Bennett had informed him that "the mission of the Watergate five was to rejuvenate the bugging apparatus in the Democratic National Headquarters in the Watergate."

Lukasky reported: "Hunt told Bennett that 'they' had obtained such 'great stuff' from the bug before it failed to function that McCord and all were instructed to install new batteries, mikes, etc., to make it work again."

Also at this meeting Bennett told Lukasky that he was establishing 'back-door entry' to the law firm representing the Democratic party in its suit against the Committee to Re-elect the President for the Watergate breakin.

Many additional details of this meeting between Bennett and Lukasky remain secret and have been deleted from the Nedzi committee report. The memo was apparently quite important, however. Lukasky rushed his hand-written notes to CIA Director Richard Helms. He said he did so "because of the sensitivity of the information."

The CIA, however, did not pass on the information to the FBI or Watergate investigators.

And apparently Bennett decided on his own to expose the conspiracy of Hunt and the White House in Watergate by releasing information to the press.

Why would Bennett inform the press rather than the authorities? Bennett gave the Nedzi committee three reasons — because he was "a good Republican," had "moral scruples," and "our firm has a good relationship with the CIA."

Bennett said this relationship with the CIA was "a written contract" and that "there is a specific paragraph which says that the firm will never divulge in any way the nature of the agreement."

When the Nedzi committee requested that Bennett supply a copy of the Mullen Co. contract with the CIA, he refused.

### 'Good Friend of Woodward'

In his testimony before the Nedzi committee, Bennett emphasized, "Bob Woodward of the Washington Post interviewed me at great length on numerous occasions. I have told Woodward everything I know about the Watergate case, except the Mullen Company's tie to the CIA." Bennett went on to say, "As a result, I am a good friend of Woodward."

Despite these alleged conversations between Bennett and Woodward, Woodward mentions Bennett only three times in "All the President's Men." In each instance Bennett is described as a minor source, and in the book's index he is listed as two separate people.

"Deep Throat" first appears in Woodward's book as the source who "advised Woodward on June 19, 1972 that Howard Hunt was definitely involved in Watergate." At that time, immediately following the Watergate breakin, Bennett was one of the few people who knew of Hunt's involvement.

Bennett has admitted that he decided on June 19 that Hunt was involved in Watergate. And on the very same date "Deep Throat" (Bennett?) told Woodward the same thing.

Woodward identifies "Deep Throat" as a man with access to information within the Committee to Re-elect the President as well as within the White House. It is known that Bennett talked almost daily with high level White House personnel and raised funds for CRP.



**The authors:**

*Richard H. Popkin's articles have appeared in a number of periodicals, including the New York Review of Books and an upcoming issue of Harpers. He is professor of philosophy at Washington University and editor of the Journal of the History of Philosophy. Barry Glassner's articles have been syndicated in newspapers throughout the country. He is the former Midwest editor for ABC Radio network news. "Deep Throat" was released through the Universal Press Syndicate.*

Of "Deep Throat," Woodward writes, "The man's position in the executive branch was extremely sensitive." This certainly describes Bennett, whose Mullen Company's CIA activities were considered so top-secret that the CIA and the Nixon palace guard repeatedly went to great lengths to keep them out of the news.

Bennett has acknowledged that he spent much time

CARL BERNSTEIN AND ROBERT WOODWARD

blocking investigations of the Mullen Co. by lawyers of the Democratic National Committee, by the Ervin committee, by the Justice Department, and by the media.

### Motive for Leaks

And "Deep Throat" and Bennett had similar motives for leaking to the press.

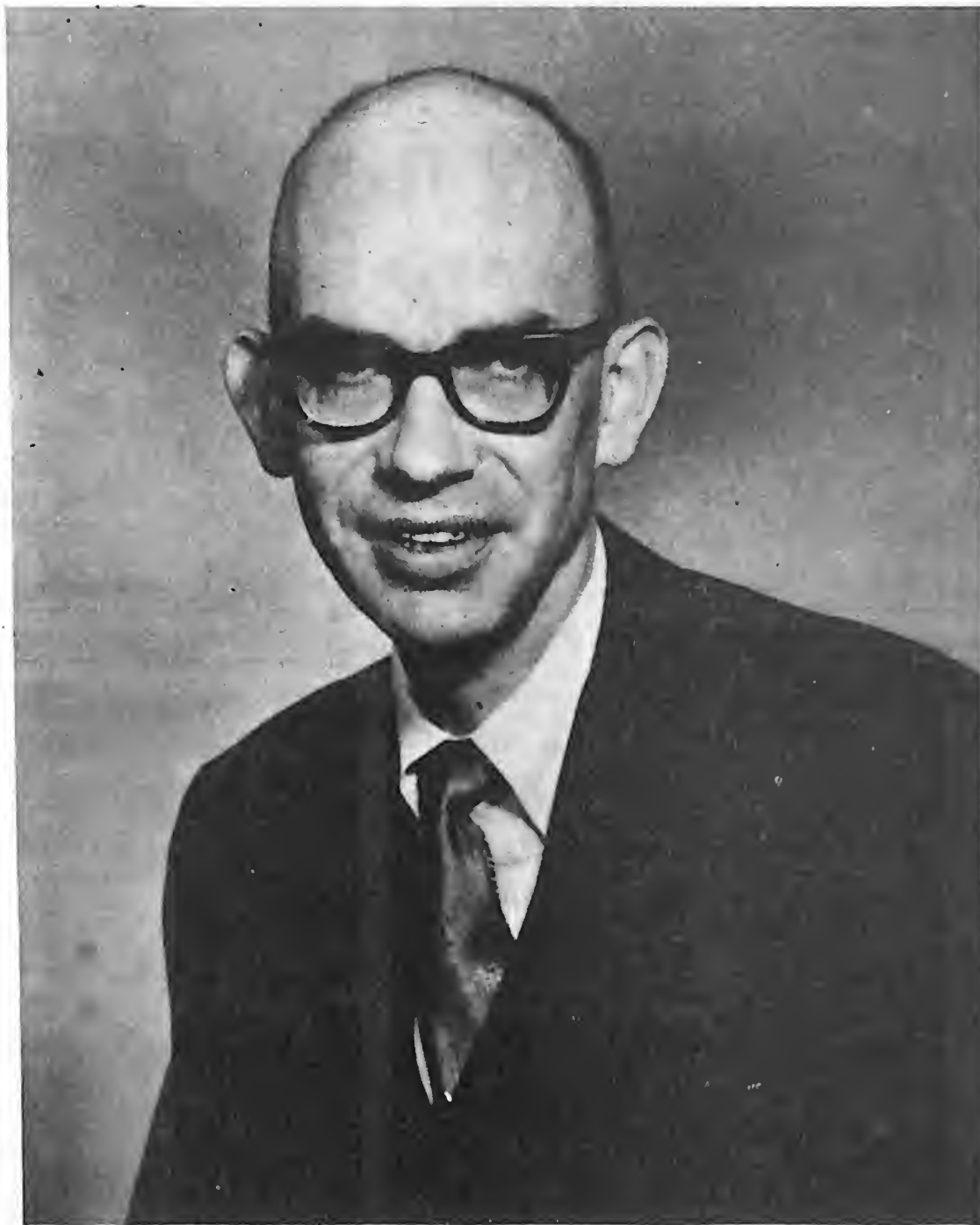
Bennett offers his moral convictions as a Mormon, along with his loyalty to traditional Republicanism, as the reasons for leaking to the press. In his book, Woodward suggests that "Deep Throat" talked to him because he "was trying to protect the office of the President, to effect a change in its conduct before all was lost."

Another motive for Bennett's cooperation with the press appears to have been his antagonism for Colson. Senator Baker's Watergate report emphasizes, "Bennett took relish in implicating Colson and Hunt's activities in the press while protecting the (CIA) agency at the same time."

"Deep Throat" was the one who told Woodward that Hunt reported to Colson and he encouraged Woodward to check all the information about Colson's relationship with Hunt.

"Deep Throat" repeatedly used Hunt's activities to spark Woodward's interest in White House involvement in the Watergate. At the time Bennett was perhaps more





ROBERT F. BENNETT

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aware than any other person of Hunt's activities prior to and after Watergate.

"Deep Throat" revealed to Woodward that John Ehrlichman had ordered Hunt to leave Washington soon after the Watergate break-in. Yet, only John Dean, Liddy, Ehrlichman, Colson and Bennett knew about this order. The first four were central figures in the cover-up and therefore were unlikely to have volunteered any information to the press.

### Scandals Not Exposed

Strangely, the only scandals that "Deep Throat" did not expose to Woodward were those in which Bennett was involved. Specifically, Woodward failed to break the stories about the proposal for the Las Vegas burglary of

editor Hank Greenspun's safe, and the Howard Hughes \$100,000 donation to Richard Nixon.

When Senator Baker's report on Watergate investigations was released last year, the Washington Post stories ignored a major part of Baker's report — the Bennett-Woodward relationship. This point would seem hard for the Post to overlook.

Several other reporters have apparently neglected the significance of Robert Bennett in Watergate. Bennett says he told of his role with the CIA, as related to the Watergate events, to reporters at Newsweek, Time, and CBS News, all of whom somehow never released their stories.

The cover-up of Robert F. Bennett and his CIA-front, the Mullen Co., may be the most successful of all the Watergate cover-ups. ■■

# Kansas City news media: placid, pompous, and prejudiced

CHARLES HARNESS

This past spring Kansas City, Missouri voters overwhelmingly re-elected Charles Wheeler, Jr. to a second term as Mayor. The doctor, lawyer and would-be candidate for vice president managed to stand for re-election without once addressing himself to the issues, except in the most vague generalities. Early in the campaign he publicly dismissed the city's news reporters as not being knowledgeable enough about the real issues to ask the Mayor and his opponent any intelligent questions. So he refused to let members of the news media ask him any questions during a series of joint appearances with his opponent.

How the Kansas City news media reacted to that put-down by hizzoner provides a rather good example of why the local media in Missouri's second largest city may best be described as "the mouse that rarely even squeaks."

There are five TV stations, 13 AM radio stations and 15 FM stations serving metropolitan Kansas City. On the print side there is the Kansas City Star and Times, with the same ownership. In recent years a number of suburban papers have become rather successful. The largest of these are the 13 Sun papers headquartered in Johnson County, Kansas. Tom Leathers also publishes a rather lively weekly called the Squire which specializes in local commentary and is distributed largely in Johnson County. There are a handful of other neighborhood publications in the metropolitan area.

When Mayor Wheeler issued his pronouncement that the city's news reporters didn't know the issues and thus were not qualified to ask questions of the two candidates for mayor when they appeared together on a platform, the Kansas City media, with hardly a whimper, rolled over and played dead and remained there until the election was over. They didn't even get very exercised when Wheeler announced plans to hold his only televised debate with his opponent on a suburban Johnson County cable TV system not even viewable in Kansas City, Missouri. (He did later relent and hold a semi-debate with his opponent on the public TV station inside the city in which he was seeking re-election as Mayor.)

But it was there, on the cable TV program on the Kansas side of the line, that Wheeler revealed what he considered to be the burning issue of the campaign; the need for a cable TV system in Kansas City, Missouri. At the time the teachers were threatening to strike, the school district was in dire financial straits, the city's fire department was so badly undermanned some stations were being abandoned, and the city was fighting to keep vital municipal services going in the face of mounting in-

flation. If any of the Kansas City news media felt the Mayor's issue priorities were somewhat out of balance with reality, they didn't tell their readers, viewers or listeners.

For the most part a community is made aware of the issues by what it sees and hears on its radio and TV stations and what it reads in its newspapers. Kansas City residents were largely left in the dark as to issues during this year's municipal election campaign because the local news media was not aggressive or outspoken enough.

Why is Kansas City's news media so placid and downright dull? Some contend it is because the vast majority of the broadcast properties are operated by absentee owners, large corporations from outside Kansas City who could care less about what goes on locally as long as they turn a profit.

The network TV affiliates are operated by three of the best known (and most prosperous) multiple station owners in broadcasting. WDAF-TV, the NBC affiliate, is owned by Taft Broadcasting of Ohio. KCMO-TV, the CBS outlet, is owned by Meredith Publications and KMBC-TV, the ABC station, is owned by Metromedia Broadcasting of New York. While the corporate owners of the three major TV stations in Kansas City obviously have great financial resources at their disposal, it is not generally reflected in either the quantity or the quality of local news and public affairs type programming. That is not to say there have not been attempts. The most recent one, a one-year experiment by KMBC-TV with an early evening two-hour news program, ended recently in a blaze of glory with the station manager getting fired, along with several members of the news staff. The New York management ordered kid-oriented films re-instated in the period, along with an inept but very popular locally produced bowling show. At the same time the station ditched the faltering new ABC AM America program and replaced it with cartoons.

Rarely does a locally produced issue-oriented documentary see the light of the tube at KMBC-TV or WDAF-TV. KCMO-TV had a much better record in that category, and has been literally grinding them out at the rate of a couple a month this summer, during the re-run season when rating points in prime time aren't as important as they are in the fall and winter months.

Kansas City's three major TV stations seem largely content to rake in the dough and leave anything other than the most bland and shallow news reporting efforts to someone else. Unfortunately, in Kansas City television, there is no one else.

The city's only independent TV station, channel 41, is



locally owned (by Business Men's Assurance) but it doesn't do *any* local news. It keeps talking about doing something but so far delivers only syndicated re-runs and "live" sports events. The city's public TV station suffers, as do most, from a lack of funds to do much more than operate as a funnel for programs carried on the Public Broadcasting Service network. But recently the station hired John Masterman (a former NBC news man fired last year by WDAF-TV because he didn't deliver a big enough audience) as its public affairs director.

Masterman has started producing local documentaries and some local prime time interview shows and the station has even put together a modest remote tape unit and says its going to be using it extensively originating news and public affairs programming from various points of the metropolitan area. It won't have to do much to outdo the efforts of its richer commercial competitors.

Even working TV news people seem to agree that Kansas City television hasn't progressed very much in the last 10 years or so. The city's local TV stations are generally delivering 1962 style news and documentary programming. The reason is simple. There is no local public outcry for anything better. Why should the local TV stations initiate changes that would just cost more money? The Kansas City public seems apathetically blissful about the sub-standard local TV news it gets.

If Kansas City TV, vintage 1975 is depressing, Kansas City radio is a full scale disaster. It suffers, too, from an over abundance of absentee owners. Most of the stations sound amazingly alike in format and seem more involved in "buying" their audience with prizes and contests than in attracting listeners because of the unique nature of their programming quality.

All but a handful of the 28 AM and FM radio stations in metropolitan Kansas City wouldn't recognize a legitimate local news story if it landed right in the middle of the station control room. Most of the radio stations "rip and read" the news right off the news wire service machine. Only about five of the stations ever send a reporter out to cover a story. And most of those stations are under-staffed or don't have the proper equipment to adequately cover a metropolitan area the size of Kansas City or both.

There is very little "enterprise" reporting in Kansas City radio or TV. The emphasis is on the scheduled news conference or other event and, of course, the daily police activity. On most Kansas City radio stations the real emphasis is on gimmicks and games and similar nonsense. The *Kansas City Star* is, and always has been the un-

challenged news authority in Kansas City. If it isn't reported in the *Star*, then it isn't really newsworthy. Even the radio and TV stations use the *Star* as a guideline for what is worth disseminating to the public.

The *Star* has changed a lot in recent years. It no longer is dominated by one strong personality as in the days when the cigar chomping Roy Roberts decided single-handedly what Kansas City was going to read about daily.

The paper's present editor and president is W. W. Baker, who, in a recent speech, said it is not the *Star's* function, as he sees it, to be the boss or manipulate; but rather to report, to inform, to explain. Baker says he is not the kind of newspaper editor who becomes personally and actively involved behind the scenes in local community decision making. He says he does not consider the *Star* as part of the deciding factor in local priorities and decisions.

That, of course, is so much talk. The *Star* has obviously become more sophisticated in recent years and has done some excellent investigative reporting in fields other than its once over-powering urge to dig up dirt on Democratic politicians. But it still has periodic urges to take pot-shots at Democrats in its news columns, it tends to over-emphasize the social activities of the well-to-do, and it still definitely determines by omission or admission, what projects and personalities are to get the favorable or unfavorable light, and thus exposure to the general public.

Although the *Kansas City Star-Times* circulation is down somewhat from its one-time high, it is still by far the dominant news source in metropolitan Kansas City, largely by default of the local broadcast media.

A major city, if it is to be strong and vibrant, needs a strong newspaper and Kansas City has one — unfortunately with too many prejudices, journalistic shortcomings and sometimes awful pomposity. But a society which gets the bulk of its daily news diet from TV and radio, also needs at least a couple of outstanding broadcast news operations. Kansas City is so far still waiting for them. ■■

*Charles Harness is a Kansas City radio broadcaster and free-lance writer.*

# "Teacher! The Sky Is Falling!"



DENNIS B. FRADIN

*The exterior looks like a civil war museum. It is damp inside and smells of decay. When your eyes adjust you see endless, dark halls covered by generations of gum. Shadows march in regimented columns through golden rays of dust. A picture of Enrico Fermi, Bernhard Moos, or William Shakespeare hangs on the wall. You're in a Chicago public school.*

Ride around Chicago and you will see just how many of the schools are crumbling. It may be interesting to know that your father's and grandfather's initials are extant on the bottom of some desk. But is it possible that present-day children are supposed to be learning in these ruins?

There are schools so poorly lit that you can barely see in them, let alone read. In winter, primitive heating systems often leave rooms freezing or suffocatingly hot. You couldn't expect a school in an Arcadian grove, with white-robed, Socratic teachers. But a child should have something more than a bolted-down desk so etched that he pokes holes through his paper every time he attempts to write.

As a Chicago teacher who went to Chicago schools, I wondered: just how old are these buildings? Looking through a board of education tome called *The Historical Record Book*, I discovered some interesting facts. Many old schools belong to the ages, like the Fallon school, which burned down in 1880, and the Colored school (a segregated school for black children, located at Fourth and Taylor streets), which was closed in 1865. But most of the schools still being used were originally built in the late 1800's and early 1900's.

Marshall high school was built in 1895, with wings added in 1902, 1909, 1916, and 1937. The 1895 "old section" — a long-time firetrap — is just now being torn down. Garfield school was dedicated in 1881, right after the president's death. Englewood and Lake View high schools were built in 1889, Austin in 1899. McKinley Upper Grade Center is the same building that opened for business in 1904. Farragut — which was a high school, then an elementary school, then a junior high, and is currently a high school — was built in 1894 — with "new sections" added in 1909 and 1929.

Of course "old" doesn't necessarily mean that something is decrepit or out of style. But these buildings were hardly models of architectural splendor to begin with. If you study the architecture, you'll see that many are indistinguishable from the city's old sewage treatment plants and penal institutions.

Adults and children respond to environment. And the atmosphere in many of these relics is at the very least depressing. The children aren't going to jump out of windows in fits of depression, as several teachers have. But lost in the furor over low reading scores and new teaching machines is the fact that it's difficult to teach — let alone inspire — a child who says, "Teacher, teacher, my desk broke in half."

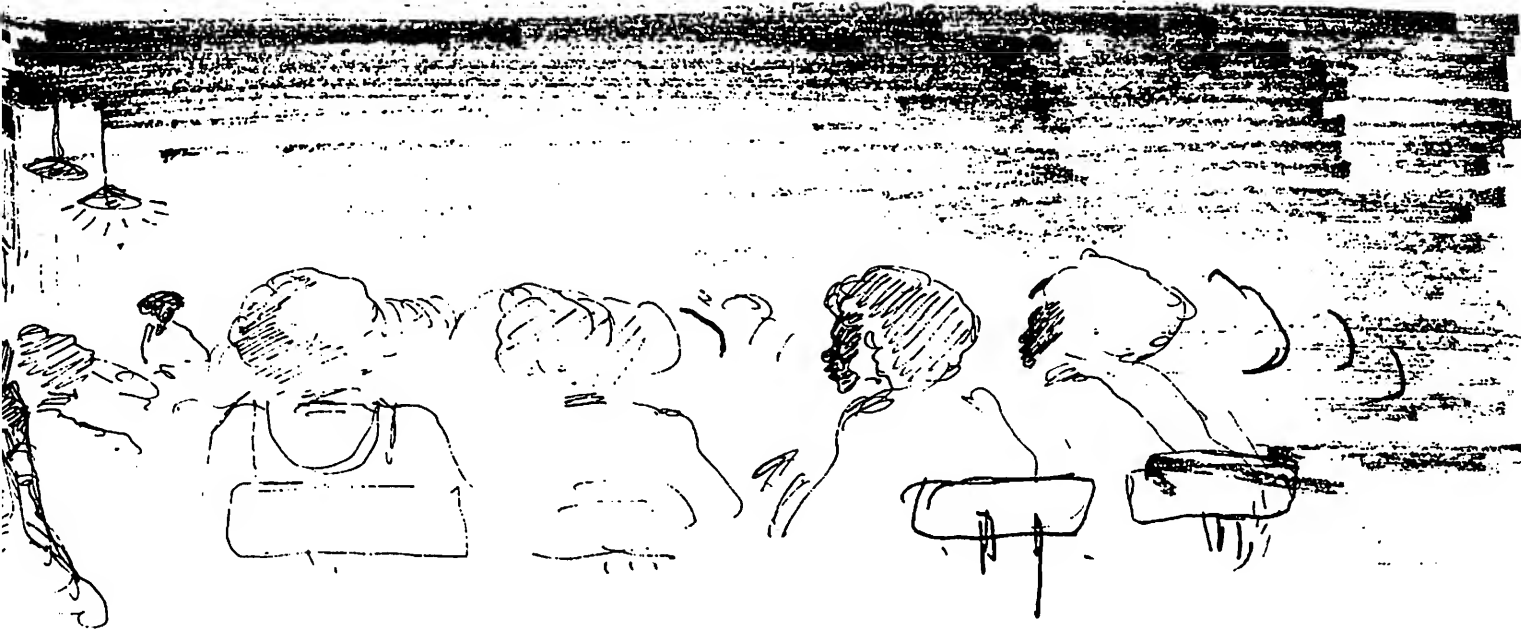
On the other hand, I've seen children's eyes open in wonder as they relax in the luxurious chairs at the planetarium, or walk through the corridors of the Museum of Science and Industry. Unfortunately, many children have learned to connect education with dungeon-like surroundings. They find it hard to believe that interesting, lively environments can be "educational."

The physical danger in these schools is real. A teacher I know was walking into a school building when a cornice stone fell, nearly braining him. He looked up, but no potential assassin was on the roof. Teachers have pretty hard heads, but this fellow still remembers the cracked sidewalk.

A gym teacher I know says he's amazed there are so few accidents on his playground. Mobile units were taken off the playground over a year ago, but the ground is still full of potholes. In fact, teachers fill out hundreds of accident reports every day. Many of these accidents are caused by unsafe conditions inside and on the school grounds.

These old schools are also breeding places for rats and roaches. There's nothing quite like teaching a math lesson while a dead rat is smelling up the room, or learning about astronomy while a roach is playing hop, skip, and jump across the floor.

Most dangerously, many of these schools have inadequate exits and fire alarms that don't work. Retired fire captain Bert Terry says that, "Wooden stairways, floors,



doors, and bannisters are definite fire hazards in these old buildings. Also, the old wooden lath under the plaster is much more dangerous than the fire-proof materials builders use today. Faulty sprinkler systems and shaky fire escapes would make things worse if children were caught in a fire." Most school fires are small ones — the wastebasket variety. Sadly, it often takes a catastrophe — like the Our Lady of Angels fire — for people to realize that the danger was present all along.

Many people like to assign blame for the physical deterioration of the schools. I've heard people proclaim, "The kids break the windows of their own schools." Actually, it only takes one person to break a whole row of windows. It's unfair to blame 500 children for that. In inner city schools, particularly, this argument is used as an excuse to avoid or delay repairs:

"They'll just break the windows again, so why bother to fix them?"

As far as security is concerned, there are only 550 men to guard more than 600 schools. Some schools have electric surveillance systems but repairs for vandalism still cost \$3.2 million in 1973.

Janitors are another convenient target for blame. But school janitors have a job that is nearly impossible. They are expected to mop up from kids who have thrown up, clean acres of floors, fix broken locks, clean up the debris from the teachers' parking lot, adjust the heat to various teachers' specifications, and keep the bathrooms clean. As anyone who has ever done cleaning knows, an ancient place with dust and dirt in hundreds of nooks and crannies is nearly impossible to clean.

So the teachers often blame the janitors for the sloppy schools, the principals blame the teachers for letting the kids throw things on the floor, and the public blames the kids for not respecting their school buildings.

But — putting aside blame — think how traumatic it must be for a kindergarten child to enter one of these schools. Picture forty pounds of humanity — scared and somewhat eager to enter the legendary world of "school." The poor kid must wonder what he did to receive such treatment. Why, the child often has to eat lunch in the library — in 5 minutes time, before the next class files in.

He may have to use a washroom that has no doors on the stalls, and no soap or toilet paper. In five years of teaching, rarely have I seen toilet paper in a boys' washroom. Who can respect a washroom with no toilet paper?

I don't know if it's dreaming to think that these deteriorating schools will be torn down and replaced with new buildings — schools like Crow Island in Winnetka that are constructed with the child's psychology in mind.

According to the 1974-75 *School Budget*, there is 123 million dollars in the Building Bond Fund for the construction of new schools. But, actually, a small portion of this money is used each year. In each of the past few years the board of education has spent only 20 to 30 million dollars on new school buildings. The new Whitney Young high school is costing 20 million dollars. A medium-sized elementary school runs about 1.8 million. So it is no surprise that during '73-'74 only 10 new schools were built in the entire city.

By contrast, 80 million dollars is allocated for rehabilitating old schools in '74-75 all of which may not be spent, and there is a total of 330 million in this fund. Trying to fix up some of these places is like trying to remake a shattered piece of sculpture. Pretty soon so many pieces of the school have been rebuilt that it would have been easier — and cheaper — to have built an entirely new school. Perhaps — with the dwindling school enrollment some of these schools will be closed down and sold as warehouses. They're far better suited to storing potatoes than children anyway.

Whenever I see one of these prehistoric schools I remember the words of a South Side second grader. As we sat in reading group, the little girl looked up at the ceiling, from which some plaster dangled like a sword of Damocles.

"Teacher," she said, grinning. "It's like that story — the sky is falling!" ■■

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# "ONE WONDERS IF GOD, TOO, HAS DESERTED ST. LOUIS?"



Two events prompted the move of Robert McGill and his family to St. Louis four years ago. He had lived and worked almost exclusively in rural Missouri and wanted to gain another perspective on social issues. He found employment at Fellowship Center with the United Church of Christ Neighborhood Houses, an inner city church-related social agency in St. Louis. Almost simultaneous with the move to St. Louis, he was accepted for graduate study in the Union Graduate School which is based in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Experiences occurred which McGill could not express in the usual assortment of papers and reports required of graduate students. As time passed, he attempted to blend the experiences and academic study into a dozen short stories of which the following are a part. They portray the actions and results of public decisions on the life of people.

There were five row houses and a vacant store located behind the Center. The houses, which probably predated the civil war, were some of the worst housing I have ever seen. They were constructed with rough bricks, were one story high, about twenty feet wide and forty feet deep, and had plank floors. The foundations were cracked, the flat roofs leaked, and the rickety old doors were about to fall off. They were not fit to live in. Yet a few people still did.

When a previous owner had wanted to sell the property, the Center purchased the lot and houses with a view towards holding it for any future expansion. Just in case, it was reasoned, the Center wanted to build an addition or a parking lot at some later time, then the land would have already been secured. The price was fairly cheap and it didn't seem like the Center could be hurt in any financial way. And besides, it might even be a wise investment.

A couple of years passed and nothing was done to the property. The Center used a realty firm to collect rent from the few remaining tenants so that it wouldn't have to be known publicly that a church agency was also a slum landlord. But rents were very cheap and nobody seemed to be getting hurt by the arrangement. A few winos continued to live in the houses and we knew most of them by their names. It was, at a minimum, a shelter over their heads. And sometimes, too, a passerby or even a local dude would bust in a door in a vacant house and sleep for the night. Mostly, though, the houses just stood there, provided a little shelter, contained rats, bugs, and roaches, and, we thought, would be torn down sometime.

We seem to have drifted into the decision to tear the buildings down. One evening at a meeting of the board of directors of the Center the conversation, in some way, was diverted into talking about the property. One of the board members recollected that the property had been purchased several years earlier and wanted to know if the Center still owned it. Another member asked what was being done with the property and was told it was just sitting there. The conversation turned into a discussion of what should be done with the property. A couple of people felt that it might be best just to tear down the buildings so they would no longer constitute a health or safety hazard to the community. I remember that I spoke at the time about the need to have the buildings torn down.

So the decision to demolish the buildings was made that evening. To expedite the demolition one person was given the responsibility for finding a wrecking crew while another person was empowered to authorize and supervise the actual destruction. To make certain that the few remaining tenants would be assisted in finding other housing, one staff member volunteered to meet with them and see what could be done to help. It seemed like an adequate decision to fit the situation and almost immediately everyone began to carry out their agreed to assignments.

I don't know who first found Pearlle. Perhaps it was Sister Rita, a neighborhood worker with the Center, who was also a student with the Daughters of Charity. She had been assigned to help with the relocation of tenants. Pearlle, unknown to everyone at the Center, lived in one of the old houses which were going to be torn down. She had been born in the South, had moved to St. Louis as a young girl, had lived in the neighborhood until she married, moved away, raised a family, buried her husband, and moved back home. She had lived in the house for the past twenty years and, in the process, had outlived all of her family. She was ninety-one or ninety-two.

Pearlle was bright with crackling eyes, in good health, had friends from her church to keep her company, and was --

satisfied with her house. It kept her warm in winter and the rain out all year long. What else did a woman of ninety need, she asked.

Sister Rita did what she could to help Pearlie. They reminisced about the past, talked about the present, prayed together, and Sister Rita made a Christmas present for Pearlie. I suspect that Pearlie presented Sister with a favorite trinket from her own past.

It's almost impossible to find housing in St. Louis for an old woman on welfare. Pearlie could afford only about twenty dollars a month for rent. Yet, Sister Rita found a one bedroom apartment in a public housing project. The area in which the apartment was located was a tough one in which over twenty people had been wounded or killed in gunfire in a sporadic dope war the preceeding year. In addition, apartments were regularly broken into and purse snatchings were frequent.

Yet, it was not the high crime, directly, that Pearlie feared. What bothered her most, she said, was that her fellow church members had told her they would not visit her at her new apartment. They feared the violence which surrounded it, she related, and would not even come by to take her to church.

The only time that I actually met Pearlie was after she had moved. Sister Rita and I had gone to her apartment to wish her a Merry Christmas and to see if her needs were being met.

She was dressing when we arrived. Sister Rita helped her some and then we talked about the South, about the youth of today, and about her apartment. She was somewhat disoriented and a couple of times wondered aloud if she would get through it all. Then, she said, "God will take care."

When we left I commented that Pearlie had seen a lot of life, was a strong soul, and could fight indomitably. Sister Rita responded that Pearlie had failed a lot lately.

It was two weeks before I again saw Sister Rita and asked her how Pearlie was. She said only that Pearlie was dead.

It seemed moot to ask the final cause of death.

While Pearlie's death is unique, it's undoubtedly common in St. Louis. By statistical records over thirty thousand housing units have been torn down in St. Louis in the last fifteen years. Who can guess how many Pearlies live in them? If Pearlie had had a good lawyer, lots of money, or even a fighting social worker on her side she might have survived. But she didn't — so she didn't.

It's a very cruel city which forces the old to die such inconspicuous deaths. When her life had been long lived, everyone, including the church, had no further use for Pearlie. She was no more than the victim of a whim.

I do not feel good about my participation in the death of Pearlie.



## ANNIE YEARGIN

It was a cold wind-blown Monday afternoon and Annie Yeargin came to the Center wanting help in finding housing. Her landlord, she said, had cut off all her utilities. She was cold; her children were cold. They were carrying water from a neighboring apartment.

Annie Yeargin, we knew, was not a good risk as a renter. She had neglected to pay her rent in other places. She had moved out of public housing owing a balance and therefore could not move back into it. Maybe she was delinquent in her current rent — maybe not. We could only guess. We did feel she needed warm housing in the wintertime with adequate utilities for herself and her family.

The house that Annie Yeargin was being evicted from was a three-story brick structure located about a block from the Center. It was an old house but appeared to be in good structural shape. I could imagine, tho, that the years of use had left the inside in very poor condition.

Another thing we knew about the house, too, was that it was located in an urban renewal area. Five years earlier much of the area around the Center, including Annie Yeargin's house, had been formally declared an urban renewal area by the city. This decision had made the city eligible for special federal funds so that all property in the designated area could be purchased by the city, the buildings torn down, and the land then sold to developers who would theoretically build new and updated structures to fit modern urban needs. Most of the property around Annie Yeargin's had been purchased and demolished. Only a few stores and houses remained.

The cumbersome operation and often negative value of urban renewal in urban areas has been noted in many studies. Its cost, relocation difficulties, and time lag between purchase and reselling land have made it, at best, a controversial program. Even then, it often seems that only a limited number of people benefit from urban renewal. Real estate companies and individuals who own property in the designated areas often sell to urban renewal agencies at inflated prices when they otherwise would have no market at all for their properties. To these people, needless to say, urban renewal is a boon. Then, as the urban renewal areas are rebuilt a few more people benefit from the process. Builders, commercial enterprises that relocate in them, and workers who are employed in factories all receive some benefit from urban renewal. The benefits to these people theoretically offset the costs of acquiring the land and higher taxation is the result. So eventually, the city should win with urban renewal.

But flies can get in the molasses of urban renewal agencies and sometimes, even, the success of whole projects are jeopardized. Some of these flies are people like Annie Yeargin and others who live in urban renewal areas and need to be relocated. These people, renters and homeowners alike, often do not understand why they must be forced to vacate their premises at the request of an official somewhere in a downtown office to comply with urban renewal plans. Yet, only unless a person wants to fight massive red tape and a cumbersome bureaucracy can he do anything but stand in line waiting his turn for eventual relocation. Its a maddening situation for anyone being forced to move.

Federal law does, however, mandate payments to residents who are forced from their homes by urban renewal. Regulations state that both renters and homeowners are to be reimbursed for any expenses. But it has often been demonstrated that agency personnel making decisions involving millions of dollars do not like to work with people like Annie Yeargin. She's time consuming; she's not quite sure what she wants; and besides, no other housing is really available to such people. It's better, they reason, for Annie Yeargin to be concerned with Annie Yeargin's problems than it is for a highly paid bureaucrat. We had heard that agency personnel go to great lengths not to deal with the problems of Annie Yeargins. Yet, we thought that Annie Yeargin qualified for financial assistance.

We decided to help her if we could. We wrote a good, bold letter to the downtown urban renewal agency asking for financial support for Annie Yeargin. We wanted to know, at a minimum, why Annie Yeargin should not be compensated for moving out of an urban renewal area. Copies of the letter were sent to the local HUD office and to the legal aid society. We did our homework. The address of Annie Yeargin was included in the letter, as was her landlord's, how long she had lived in the property, how long the utilities had been cut off, how many children she had, her housing requirements, and the number of the urban renewal regulation which we thought compelled the local agency to offer her direct support. I signed the letter and we mailed it on Wednesday.

Over the week-end the roof burned off Annie Yeargin's residence. The fire had started in the attic. It had been a minor fire as fires go -- only a gaping hole was left in the roof. The firetrucks came out. The neighborhood kids congregated around the red trucks, smoke, and water. And the fire was put out. The origin of the fire was listed as "suspected arson."

The suspected arsonist had done a good job. If he had wanted to destroy the whole building he would have set the fire in the basement. But since he only wanted to cause discomfort to the occupants he set it on Saturday afternoon in the attic. No one was hurt. No one needed to again remind Annie Yeargin that she should move. The urban renewal agency did not need to be bothered with Annie Yeargin's problems.

We heard later that the suspected arsonist had been paid fifty dollars.

Annie Yeargin spent the next couple of days in the Salvation Army Emergency Shelter house until someone helped her find some housing.

The following week we received a letter from the urban renewal agency stating that while Annie Yeargin lived in the urban renewal area, technical rules prevented them from helping her that particular program year but that in all probability they could assist her the following year.

How powerless we were. Someone, and we weren't even sure who, had outflanked us so quickly and cleanly that we couldn't even put up a brief skirmish. We hadn't mounted any kind of an offensive; and Annie Yeargin was gone.

And we weren't even in the ballgame.



## COCHRAN GARDENS

Cochran Gardens is a badly neglected public housing development in St. Louis. The shattered glass, bare lawns, and graffiti that are so visible at a casual glance all attest to this maltreatment of the buildings. But more difficult to see is the ingrained abuse which has developed over the lifetime of the project. For example, one twelve-story-building, which was vacated several winters ago when the water pipes in the building froze and service had to be cut off to all residents, still sits vacant and vandalized in the midst of the

development as a reminder of the inaction of government leaders to make needed repairs. The prospects for the continuation of such inattention is very good. The downtown area of St. Louis, which is so near to Cochran, is experiencing a building boom which it hopes will spill over into the Cochran area. If this is done the buildings of Cochran may be torn down or its use diverted to something other than to provide housing for families. But to do so, I think, would be to deprive many people of a home and would complete the wanton destruction of this housing development. It would send it to a premature death.

The twelve buildings in Cochran, which range in height from six to twelve stories, were built twenty years ago. Yet the buildings, for all the mistreatment they have received, are still structurally sound and they could be renovated to make Cochran again an adequate place to live. But to do this will depend on the decisions of many people.

My concern with Cochran grows out of several months of intensive work with the management of the development. During this time several of us struggled to make it a more amenable place in which to live. In those months I discovered some of the drama of daily life which takes place in a public housing development; and I came to respect, admire, and love the residents and fellow workers who were also there. I felt like I gave a lot to it; I know that I learned much from the experience.

My first contact with Cochran Gardens was the classical story of a person entering a public housing development. One of the social workers on the staff of the Center recruited me to go with her to visit one of the families in the development. It was well below freezing and we walked across the street to the building in which the apartment was located. Both elevators in the building were out of service and so we trudged up ten flights of cold, dirty, and dingy stairways to reach a woman and her family who had just moved into one of the apartments. There was no furniture in the apartment and the mother was running a high temperature and had the flu. It was an ominous beginning for me as we began to get medical help and furniture for the family.

My second experience with Cochran Gardens was to offer to buy the whole development. Surely the whole adventure ranks as one of the more audacious moments of my life. But there I was at a meeting of the Board of Housing Commissioners of St. Louis, sitting in a crowded room in front of a radio microphone, with newspaper reporters present, reading a prepared statement which in the name of the Center offered to buy Cochran Gardens. The whole scheme seems almost comical now when I think back and realize how broke we were at the time.

But there was some method to our madness. The St. Louis Housing Authority was going broke at the time and neighborhood groups were concerned about the possibility of the authority simply shutting down public housing. Our offer, actually, was one of three separate offers, each to purchase a different development. It was our hope that other alternatives to closing the housing authority could be found. We thought maybe an offer to buy these properties would show signs of support for the housing authority and spur the federal government into fixing them up and perhaps point to some alternatives to further management possibilities.

It was not long after this experience that the housing authority decided to decentralize its operations and allow tenant management groups and social service agencies to take over the management responsibilities of public housing developments. The Center, in conjunction with Cochran residents, worked out a management program for Cochran which was approved by the Housing Authority Commissioners.



When the Center took over the management duties of Cochran Gardens, I was responsible for much of its operation. But immediately, we found it impossible to clean and maintain the development as we had wanted to do. And it quickly became evident that something was wrong other than the life-styles of the residents. Take the windows!!! On a windy day it was possible to walk through Cochran Gardens and hear the breaking of glass as window panes broke and crumbled to the ground. Yet, the original architect had specified that swinging windows on hinges be placed in the buildings. After twenty years the hinges had worn out and every window that was open when the gusts of wind came up was endangered. The fault went back to the architect; the residents were still receiving the blame for broken windows.

Or, take the matter of the livability of the architecture. Study after study in housing design has indicated that families, particularly those with children, need to be easily accessible to outdoors and play areas. Yet at Cochran Gardens all of the buildings were at least six stories and some of them twelve stories high. It was impossible for children to have easy access to play areas and to run in and out of the buildings. Therefore hallways became play areas. Or, if children went outside, play areas were difficult to find. No one doubts that row houses or small apartment buildings of two to four floors would have been preferable, but they were not designed. So twenty years ago the housing authority agreed to the ill-conceived plans of the architect to stack large families one on top of the other. And the mayor agreed to help secure the funds to build the plans. And the builder, because he would make money, took the plans and built Cochran Gardens. They all had a part in abusing Cochran Gardens from its inception. And the people who live there still suffer from the original mistakes.

Is it any wonder that many people are referring to highrise housing projects in the inner city as well-designed urban waste cans for the poor?

We discovered that there was not enough money to adequately maintain Cochran. Yet some of the hallway walls had not been painted for ten to twelve years and some apartments had not been painted for longer than that. Smoke that poured up from inside the incinerators often rolled out the incinerator chute doors and into the hallways. Nothing was done about it while I worked there. Plumbing leaks in walls had been dripping for years and had not been found. Roofs leaked and were not repaired. The years of leaving things undone was taking its toll. Yet, we knew that the budget of the housing authority was insufficient to meet the needs of the various developments.

I remember trying to get some outside lights repaired. Lights on tall poles, resembling street lights, dotted the area around walkways to provide light and protection at night. It seemed like half of the lights were not working and needed to be repaired. We made a list one night of all the lights that were out and asked the downtown office of the housing authority to repair the lights. It was four months before the workmen came out and then not all lights were repaired. Only those lights which needed bulbs were fixed. Any other problem with the lights was not corrected. Changing the lightbulbs helped, but it was not a total repair job.

It was the same story with other needed repairs. It took over five months to replace four large dilapidated outdoor trash containers; and leaks on the roof were never fixed; no plasterers or electricians ever appeared to repair broken switches or water-soaked walls. The authority was broke and could not afford to provide any but the most necessary of maintenance.

We became more acutely aware of the lack of reaction in St. Louis to the knowledge that the Public Housing Authority cannot provide good housing for its residents. The plight of the authority with its inadequate budgets has been told in newspapers, at churches, and to the downtown businessmen. The authority limps along, periodically threatening to give its properties back to the federal government, but usually doing the best it can with what it has. It needs only a few more million dollars a year to have a good program, but the money is never made available to it. One wishes for the kind of outcry for public funds that accompanied a recent disclosure that contracts for jet fighters at an aircraft plant near St. Louis were in jeopardy. The senators, representatives, the mayor, politicians, and civic leaders all raised a cry of protest when threatened with the cut-off of hundreds of millions of dollars of contract money. Every effort was made to restore it and the contracts were soon received. But budgets for the housing authority are not so ferociously protected. Public housing is more controversial than making fighter planes to drop rockets and napalm on people.

The residents of Cochran Gardens needed some additional services, too, but these were never provided while I was working there. The city welfare director promised to open a branch of the welfare office in Cochran to provide support for families. Six months later this still had not been done. The police department boasted in the metropolitan newspaper that it had foot patrols in all the high crime areas of the city. Cochran was a high crime area. We asked the police captain to inaugurate two foot patrolmen at Cochran. He promised to do his best to get them in the area. Within days after our request, a series of rapes were reported downtown and the newspapers reported that at least two dozen extra policemen were assigned to the downtown area to make the business district safe. Yet, even after that case had been solved, no foot patrolmen appeared at Cochran. The police department had enough men to protect the downtown area on a moment's notice but lacked the men to protect people's homes. We called some universities and colleges to see if they should institute any kind of training for residents. They couldn't. A few churches did give some help to individual buildings and a few ward politicians took an interest in what was happening. The Model Cities and OEO program probably gave more support than anyone. But beyond this, little help was given.

But a few people did care. One of my most pleasant discoveries was to find how many well-kept apartments there were at Cochran. Elderly, middle-aged, and young families all seemed to keep their apartments neat and straight. Most families were able to separate the outside abuse from the inside care. And they maintained nice homes in the apartment complex.

One of the first programs which the Center helped start was to provide paint for the hallways of buildings. Almost every week-end for several months residents formed themselves into paint crews and painted until the paint ran out. There were some good times in working on a paint crew, but still it's very few people in the world who care enough about an apartment house to paint it themselves. But people at Cochran did.

Now a new force threatens to abuse Cochran Gardens. This one is coming from the downtown area. The downtown area is now being revitalized and it's contemplated that hundreds of millions of dollars will be spent to build new hotels, banks, and office buildings within the next decade. One part of this new revitalization is a new convention center for the city which is being built a block from Cochran Gardens. And already, the rumors are floating out of the downtown area that a shabby, old, rundown

housing project will not be allowed to stand that close to a new downtown area. Drastic changes, they say, will have to take place at Cochran Gardens. Either it will need to be fixed up or torn down, but certainly it has to change in some way to make it more compatible with the new downtown area. Implicit in the changes is the knowledge that those people now living in Cochran Gardens will have to move elsewhere.

The amount of bonds to be sold by the city government to build the convention center will total \$25,000,000. But the downtown businessmen know that this is an insufficient amount of money to build the kind of convention center they want. Already estimated costs of building the Center are \$34,000,000 so, not surprisingly, the Land Clearance Authority simply and unexpectedly "found" about \$6,000,000 to help cover the deficit. Too, downtown businessmen are in the process of pledging and making conscriptions to contribute the remaining amount for the convention center. They'll raise an additional \$3,000,000 out of their own hip pockets.

Ironically, \$3,000,000 is about the amount that it will take to restore Cochran Gardens to a good, physically sound set of buildings. Yet I've heard no one downtown suggest that \$3,000,000 be raised to refurbish Cochran Gardens. Somehow, homes for people in St. Louis do not rank with buildings for conventions. Yet, unless something of this magnitude is accomplished, Cochran Gardens will no longer be a home for those people who need it most.

It seems to me that very few people in the St. Louis area profit when public housing projects are torn down or radically altered. The residents, of course, do not benefit at all. Their lives are simply disrupted again and they are forced to flee their homes.



## ST. LOUIS HAS EVERYTHING FROM A TO Z

Three hundred thousand people have left St. Louis in the past twenty-five years. In 1950 St. Louis had a population of 850,000. Today it has a population of about 550,000 and most local demographers predict that the population will decrease even more. I've often wondered why it is that so many people have decided not to live in this city.

Reactions to this flight from the city have varied. Most politicians and all mayors up for reelection in the past twenty-five years have extolled the progressive features of the city. They point to the few new buildings, what little industry has relocated in the city, and streamlined city government departments as evidence that everything is alright in St. Louis. They almost never mention the fact that St. Louis loses 12,500 people per year. Yet, even cursory conversations with people on the streets indicates that everything is not going well. Talk about crime, housing decay, industry moving from the city, and government

corruption is rampant. What is one to believe? What is St. Louis really like?

Soon after moving to St. Louis I attempted to learn more about the city by seeking information from the Downtown Chamber of Commerce and the Human Development Corporation, a city agency designated to fight poverty. There was a stark contrast to the kind of information readily available from each. The Chamber of Commerce had bright-colored brochures featuring good restaurants, night clubs, and cultural activities. The brochures described sites available for industrial buildings, told of highway, rail, and air transportation facilities, medical centers, and the possibilities of the good life. St. Louis was portrayed as an exciting city on the go. The Human Development Corporation, in contrast, did not have any bright-colored brochures to give away. Rather, it had a thick, heavy, and pedantic study of St. Louis showing the incidences of poverty. The study contained graphs, charts, and a narrative of the high degrees of crime, infant mortality, low educational levels, a comparison of higher food prices in the city than in the suburbs, and housing units that lacked plumbing facilities or were in some way deteriorated. The two organizations gave out two almost completely different versions of the same city. I wondered if both presentations were accurate or if one was more nearly correct than the other.

Since my work was concerned with housing, I also began reading a series of reports and publications on housing conditions in St. Louis. In one publication I learned about the practices of the business community and real estate companies which were active in St. Louis and became convinced that they "programmed" communities for destruction. I found that banks "red-lined" a community. What was meant by this, I discovered, was that financial firms would refuse to make home repair loans in older but substantially good neighborhoods and this insured that over a period of a few years no homes would be repaired and the community would become completely deteriorated. But to offset this, the financial firms did make loans for new homes in the suburbs. In this way they forced families to move from older communities and thereby supplied a constant volume of prospective buyers for the new houses. It was the beginning of a financial cycle that enlarged not only their own profits but also those of other people along the way. The mortgages on the new homes were much larger than they would have been for home repair loans and the profits from the interest swelled their own pockets; the builder of the home in the suburbs made a profit from selling a new home; a realty firm made money by getting a commission it otherwise would have missed; and a slum landlord could buy the old house in the city for a low price, make cosmetic repairs on it if needed, and rent it at exorbitant rates to new poor families moving into the neighborhood. But, because substantial repairs were never made, the house was soon completely depreciated. Then, a demolition crew would come in and raze the old house. The cycle, from lack of loan to the decimation of the house repeated itself over and over with an appropriate profit-taker at each turn of the way. It was a neat and lucrative venture which wrecked much of the city.

The same practices also promise to continue well into the future. Another report, this one issued by the city itself in the late 1960's, estimated that close to 70,000 housing units should be demolished. Since only about 25,000 of these units have been destroyed already, an additional 40,000 units await destruction in the next few years. This amounts to roughly one-third of the housing in St. Louis with almost all of it in the northern part of the city. I concluded that St. Louis is yet to experience much turmoil.

I also thought it accounted for many of the people who are leaving the city.

Most of the city has been affected by these practices. The process of refusing to make loans always shifted. First, the neighborhoods in the center of the city suffered and then others followed in a progressive pattern out until now the decay is striking at the suburbs outside the limits of the city. Residents, particularly the poor, have had to move from one neighborhood to another to keep ahead of the decay. Perhaps one of the saddest consequences of "red-lining," however, is that sometimes several years elapsed before people note the shift in housing and any newcomers to the community become the scapegoats for the deterioration of the neighborhood. But the decline starts well before the "transitional" neighborhood becomes apparent. Seemingly, there is no way for individuals or community groups to stand up against these powerful community wreckers. The financiers marshal too much economic power against the declining neighborhoods.

It seemed to me, too, that the shifting and continual movement of people had a limiting, contracting, and detrimental affect on people. Families, particularly poor black families, were being forced hither and yon throughout the city. They were moving, had just moved, or were fearful of being forced to move again. Their minds were involved with the problems of movement, looking for a good house in a reasonable neighborhood, finding friends, a new school, or a new shopping center. Adequate shelter, one of the basic commodities necessary for family life, became an elusive search.

What people did not and could not have was stability at the center of their life. The forced moves precluded that. So there was always a financial, emotional, psychological, or sociological strain associated with the moves. And, there was the breaking down of long friendships, churches, neighborhood stores, and community lodges and organizations which preserved the richness and meaning of life. Almost always, there was little or no time for the creation and experimentation of expansive and dynamic ideas and movements which recreate life for individuals, communities, and cities. Once the city was propelled downward it festered and collapsed in on itself with the enjoyment and quality of life of so many people cut short.

I began to believe more and more that the bulky studies of the Human Development Corporation contained more merit than the fancy folders of the Downtown Chamber of Commerce. Why else would 300,000 people leave a city if it were not a cruel and brutal place where life was a harsh struggle for survival?

After I had worked in the city for several months the added realization came that those public and private institutions and agencies which were supposedly adding a human touch and caring for the hurts of people and denouncing the abuses of an inhuman city were also caught up in the same restrictive conduct and struggle for survival. They were fighting smaller budgets, the fear of having to move, and the inability to attract staff just at the time when human suffering seemed to be increasing around them. Like the city, just at the time when they needed to be searching for dynamic and creative new ideas to propel them forward, they began to backpedal, become rigid, stratified, and defensive. They lost the ability to examine themselves, experiment with new ideas, programs, and models of action. They, like so much of the rest of the city, began to succumb. Now, interspersed with the decayed and demolished houses are the empty and abandoned or converted private and parochial schools, community centers, recreation halls, and fountains, parks, and play areas. Perhaps most noticeable of all are the many towering

church structures whose boarded up windows indicate that congregations have closed up or moved their sanctuaries as they departed the city. One wonders if God, too, has deserted St. Louis. The result is that only the strong social agencies have survived. But with only one or two exceptions they have come under the influence of the financial powers that control. So even with what agencies are left, the city has continued its decline.

One of the most unexpected things which began happening to me in St. Louis was that I, too, found my life becoming restricted, confined, and crippled while living and working in the city. The ideas and new ways to tackle old jobs ceased to spring up within me. Life and job became a process of respond, respond, respond, to the immediate and ever present demands for help. A drunk, a wino, an ex-convict, a woman being evicted from her house, a baby in need of medical care all incessantly needed some kind of help. There was no time to think about tomorrow, to take the offensive, to even think about how to create and redevelop structures to combat the effective forces bringing about decay. I found myself caught and trapped in the inhumanity of the city. Yet, it obviously was not me alone. Many others, perhaps as many as 300,000 other people, had experienced similar feelings. At times it seemed only as if there was helplessness in the midst of chaos as the city continued relentlessly to foster more decay. Only escape for oneself and family seemed an adequate alternative.

There is no doubt that some people anticipate a new day ahead for the city of St. Louis. The Downtown Chamber of Commerce, for instance, is planning for the time in the near future when tall skyscrapers will be built downtown and the banks, government, and convention centers will flourish. Simultaneously they hope that the downtown area will be encircled with large apartment complexes and residential developments where the affluent who work downtown can be enticed back to the city where they will live and commute short distances to work. But this new St. Louis will only be built when the old and the poor have been forced from the few remaining houses near the center of the city and these structures razed so that new developments can be built. Then when the land is cleared and the prospects are good for a return of the free-spending consumer, the developments can take place. And, needless to say, the new housing will be lucrative for the mortgage-holders.

It seems to me there is something radically wrong with a city when 300,000 people decide to leave it. It's a catastrophe when parts of a city are left mutilated and razed and looking like the remains of a World War II bombing run. The desolation, crime, poverty, and ill health which go with it can only be called a tragedy. But it exists in St. Louis. Yet all the agencies and all the people, even those who have put up tremendous struggles against the decay, seem to have had little affect against the deterioration. The city has fallen into disrepair and more promises to follow it. It is a collapsed city.

One of the major influences on St. Louis over the past twenty-five years has been the practice of businessmen and developers who look at the city of St. Louis strictly as a financial opportunity. This is the set of people who realized that money could be made rending the city apart and now the same industry feels that another set of profits can be made by building it back in the image of what they suppose is best. They know that money can be made from the city and they are intent on making it. It's the economic model, the mortgage repayments, and the profits which are important. The struggles of people for existence in conflict with the economic counts for very little. The poor, the black, and the old are simply shifted around.

Yet the domination of the economic community in St. Louis can only partly explain the catastrophe St. Louis has suffered. It's difficult to deny but that the residents of the city have let it happen to themselves. One of the things which seems to be missing and is so desperately needed in St. Louis is the groups and individuals who do not allow themselves to be manipulated by the economic interests of the city. Residents, neighborhood groups and corporations, and institutions need to participate in the decisions which affect the city in which they live. But rather than do this, the residents have succumbed to the manipulation of the financial interests largely without even realizing what has happened. They have viewed moving from the city as the only logical choice which could be made and without even a struggle have turned the city over to the financial institutions. Few people living in communities threatened by deterioration have made the uneconomical decision to stay, participate in, struggle, and rebuild the city. They have abdicated this responsibility.

St. Louis, I suggest, will not become a humanly viable city until community groups and corporations, neighborhoods, churches, lodges, and any place where people gather take seriously the future of the city. Residents need to take the time and effort to know, to speak, and to struggle for what they aspire, feel, and can obtain for themselves and their city. Then, and only then, can they grasp from the economic interests the dominance of the city. When residents develop and use the ability to participate, I suspect, the city will cease to wither but will again sprout with a renewed freshness of life. Living for its residents will become not a withering on the vine but an event to be celebrated. And the creation of a new city, built upon the tragic destruction of an old one, can begin again. ■■

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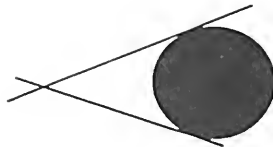
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## THE RIGHT WING

### ILLINOIS YAF

The Illinois Young Americans for Freedom sponsored a conference in Chicago which "gave guidance for investment survival during the coming chaotic months." ... National YAF will sponsor "National Recrimination Week" (about Southeast Asia) ... And the June issue of the John Birch Society's magazine contained a full-page ad for U.S. Navy recruitment.

### FREEDOM FOUNDATION

This year's awards of the *Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge* indicate that the 26-year old group is continuing along its old right-wing course, in spite of hints the past two years of more balance. Dr. George S. Benson, Founder of the National Education Program at Harding College received his umpteenth medal; business awards went to Warner & Swasey Co. and Flick-Reedy Corp; and the DAR picked up a publication award. Gerald Ford is now the Honorary Chairman of the Foundation, and one award went to the successor of J. Edgar Hoover, who was always one of the big winners.

### KKK LEADER APPOINTED

Albert McCorkle of Asbury, Missouri, was appointed grand dragon of the newly formed Mo-Kan chapter of the Fiery Knights of the Ku Klux Klan by the KKK's imperial wizard, Scott M. Nelson, during a visit to Joplin, Missouri in July.

### PRESIDENT FORD CHOOSES RIGHT-WINGER FOR '76 ELECTION DRIVE

The selection of Howard (Bo) Callaway, now Secretary of the Army, to head President Gerald Ford's election campaign, puts an active right-winger in the key position within the Republican Party.

In the campaign of 1968, Callaway was Richard Nixon's southern general, a post of great significance in the GOP strategy to carry the south. However, he fell out of favor with the White House because he told the Mississippi Republican convention that "perhaps we can get George Wallace on our side. That's where he belongs."

### AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE AND THE WHITE HOUSE

The Board of Trustees of the American Enterprise Institute met recently in the White House with President Gerald Ford, an old friend of the organization. Ford's staffer in charge of bringing in various groups, William J. Baroody, Jr., is a son of the AEI's President, and Ford's Assistant Press Secretary, Louis M. Thompson, has

just rejoined AEI as Assistant to the President for Communication. Thompson was an assistant to the Pentagon public relations chief when Melvin Laird, now with ARI and *Reader's Digest*, was Secretary of Defense and Baroody was his personal assistant. ■■

### KANSAS CITY TAX VOTE

*Continued from page 7*

proved the sales tax on August 19. The suburban areas, the same areas which fear integration most, were responsible for the 60% vote in support of the tax, while the inner city vote was light. Meanwhile, the request by federal authorities to refund desegregation funds because the school board had failed to abide by the stipulation of the grant was turned down by an administrative judge who, at the same time, strongly chastised the board for its insincere and uncooperative policies.

In its pre-election tax booster section, the *Star* published the following percentages on minorities: Board of Education, 22.2%; Population, 33%; Administrators, 38%; Principals and Assistant Principals, 42.9%; Teachers, 43.4%; Total Work Force, 46.8%; Students, 62.2%.

In view of these percentages and the threatened loss of funds, but most important, for the sake of equal education for all of its citizens, the school board should now re-evaluate its guiding policies. ■■

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# A region groping for identity

ERNEST CALLOWAY

*The following presentation was made by Ernest Calloway of St. Louis University at a Coro Foundation Seminar on "The Search for Regional Identity."*

In the unguided search for regional identity in the 4,100 square miles and among the 2.3 million people currently making up the interstate seven-county St. Louis standard metropolitan statistical area, one is almost embarking upon a massive psychiatric expedition. Mostly because much of the history of the economic development in this 10th largest U.S. economic region has been firmly rooted in chronic suspicion and distrust on both sides of the Mississippi River. It has been this continuing regional inner conflict that has produced a kind of land and population trauma and given the area a sustained 'neither fish nor fowl' character that promotes economic division rather than unity of purpose and effort.

Consequently, it may be of some benefit to pin-point the major historical influences that have exerted a significant impact upon the peculiar uneven economic development of the St. Louis region. This may explain the insidious parochialism that dominates the economic and political life of the region today, and perhaps its great resistance to change.

It is our contention that this uneven economic development with its accompanying parochialism is responsible for the hard-core resistance to change in a broad economic, political, social, racial and cultural sense. Furthermore, it also reflects the dreary fact that the region is divided into two distinct economic parts: the haves and the have nots, the affluent western end of the region and the poor eastern end.

But let us consider some of the historical factors that have molded the economic character of the region.

First, it should be of some economic significance that the St. Louis metropolitan area is one of the very few regions made up of sections from a former slave state and a former free state. One section of the region is part of a state that was sympathetic to the Confederate cause and another section of the region from a state that was intimately involved in the Union cause. This in itself is enough to produce a trauma in any region.

And before division over slavery, in the early colonial and post-colonial periods, the Mississippi River served as the dividing line between English and French interests in the New World. This is long before Missouri and Illinois were states. The French and Indian War was perhaps the first major development to leave deep scars upon the region. The British victors in this early American war gained title to all of the Northwest Territory to the Mississippi River. According to Carl Baldwin, formerly of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and currently writing some signif-

icant history of the area, the British takeover forced most of the French to flee from Cahokia and Kaskaskia across the river to St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve or down the river to New Orleans. It is said that the French even carried their homes with them rather than live under British rule.

Historically, the Mississippi River system has been a dominant economic factor within the region. It is the flowing economic spine of the two-state region. It has been vital to St. Louis as a trading center, and without the river the fur trade and the exploration of the Northwest would have been handicapped. This greatest of American rivers was also economically vital to the well-being of the rest of the region. Moreover this inland waterway gave yeomen's service in the conquest of the west as well as producing a new trade route from middle America to the markets of Europe.

Following the Louisiana Purchase, Robert Fulton designed the first steamboat. This new development opened up the golden era for St. Louis as a great commercial center. By 1834 some 230 steamboats were making half a dozen trips a year between St. Louis and New Orleans. By 1844 the number of river boats had increased to 686 with a tonnage of 144,000. The city had reached a population of more than 30,000 and was on its way as a great midwestern metropolis.

However, a great deal of this economic activity was threatened when the river began grinding out a new main channel away from the city, between Illinois shore and a large sandbar called Bloody Island. This created grave problems for the economic life of the city. Then, a young lieutenant, Robert E. Lee, an Army engineer, saved the economic life of St. Louis by bringing the river back to its original channel.

But the river had its limits and it was not until the railroad spanned the nation from east to west that the west was truly won and the Industrial Revolution on the North American continent was about the business of making the United States a great industrial nation. And this opening up of the vast reaches of the west by railroad took its toll in the St. Louis region.

Nowhere in American economic life has the conflicting economic interest between river traffic and railroad traffic been more intense than in the St. Louis metropolitan region. This conflict lasted for many years as part of a commercial struggle for control of the Mississippi Valley between the riverboat interests on the western side of the Mississippi river and the new railroad interests on the east-

ern side. Even to this day the conflict between river and rail is seen in the current controversy over reconstruction of the dam and lock at Alton.

The river-rail conflict is also a part of the historical struggle between Chicago and St. Louis to maintain economic hegemony over the Middle West.

And as a result of conflict between modes of transportation, bridges have played a key part in intensifying economic suspicion and distrust in the St. Louis region. Today there are some eleven bridges spanning the Mississippi River on a 24 mile front within the metropolitan region, but very little of this engineering thrust has reduced the intense economic parochialism that dominates the region today.

The economic struggle between the two states on transportation had its beginnings over a century before the current controversy on the location of a new airport in the St. Louis region. In the 1840's, according to Carl Baldwin's research, a group representing Illinois interests and headed by Senator Stephen A. Douglas developed what they called the "Illinois Plan." The plan called for building a railroad down the spine or center of the state, from Chicago to Cairo and building spurs to areas of Illinois that needed service. It was the decision of Senator Douglas' group to avoid a spur to Illinoistown (now East St. Louis) because it was too close to St. Louis.

St. Louis interests countered by backing plans to extend the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad from Vincennes, Ind., to Illinoistown to give St. Louis railroad access to the East. The Illinois-Douglas group bitterly opposed this.

However, St. Louis got support from Illinois Governor Augustus French who called a general railroad convention in 1849 at Salem to create a state policy for a cross state route. The governor's opponents in Illinois called it a "rebellion conclave," a rebellion against our own state. When Governor French called a special legislative session to take up the matter he was denounced "as a tool of St. Louis" and a clique of railroad speculators. A newspaper edited in the governor's home town accused him of "tricking Illinois out of interests and privileges which are of vast import." The Vincennes-Illinoistown route was eventually approved but it was not completed until 1855.

St. Louis had heavy investments in the cross river ferry-boat monopoly originally granted to James Piggott. With heavy investment by St. Louis business men this became the primary method of moving goods from the east side of the river to the west side.

The first railroad bridge to span the Mississippi River was in 1856 between Rock Island, Ill., and Davenport, Iowa. More than an engineering feat this first bridge across the Mississippi River was an economic triumph that signalled that the riverboat era was headed for drastic decline. It was also an announcement that Chicago was achieving economic ascendancy over St. Louis. This economic duel between the steamboat men of St. Louis and the railroad men of Chicago culminated with the completion of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, the first continuous rail connection between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. Several weeks ago the Chicago Rock Island went broke.

The first bridge across the Mississippi was to be bogged down in controversy and court action for many years. The steamboat interests of St. Louis saw it as a physical threat to river navigation. The St. Louis river interests began making plans to fight any future encroachments on their territory. Suits were filed by St. Louis interests in federal courts seeking abatement of the Rock Island Bridge as a public nuisance. The St. Louis interests won their case in the lower courts, but were overruled by the United States Supreme Court in 1863 — the year the slaves were eman-

cipated. The railroads had won a legal victory, but it was the Civil War that wrote the last chapter on the economic influence of the inland steamboat in American life.

The next bridge to have massive economic impact — both negative and positive upon the St. Louis region — was the historic Eads Bridge, completed in 1874. Its building was strenuously opposed by the steamboat and ferry interests, but finally, Captain James Buchanan Eads, built this masterpiece of engineering achievement across the Mississippi River at St. Louis in 1874.

But Chicago instead of St. Louis had already moved ahead as the economic heart of the Middle West. Eads was built too late to make St. Louis the nation's No. 1 rail center and the region had to settle for second place.

In 1860, just before the Civil War, St. Louis ranked 8th among the nation's cities with a population of 160,773. Ten years later in 1870 with the construction of the Eads Bridge underway St. Louis was the nation's 4th largest city (still slightly larger than Chicago) with 310,000 persons.

But St. Louis has always managed to dissipate its economic advantages. Even after the Eads Bridge was built and the golden spike had been driven to mark the completion of the nation's first transcontinental railroad with Eads Bridge linking East and West, efforts were being made by St. Louis business interests to undermine the economic usefulness of the bridge. The St. Louis ferry interests operating between the east and west sides of the river sought to have the bridge torn down as a menace to navigation. This group did obtain such an order from the Secretary of the Interior, but it was countermanded by President Ulysses S. Grant. It was many years before some St. Louis business leaders were able to make economic peace with the Eads Bridge.

And before the economic furor had died over the bridge, St. Louis made a political decision in 1876 that was to have tremendous negative economic impact upon the region for the next century. The city withdrew from St. Louis County, and this unhappy fact produced the climate for the rapid growth of both political and economic parochialism in the region.

Today, St. Louis has dropped from the 4th to the 18th largest U.S. city and is the only city that has made such a rapid descent in population. However, the region is the 10th largest metropolitan area.

But it is a region that is economically, politically and socially pockmarked with deep-seated conflicts and divisions: the city versus county, county versus county, the east side of the river versus the west side of the river, Missouri versus Illinois, urban versus suburban, black versus white, poor versus affluent. This in substance is the very definition of regionalism in this great Mississippi Valley area.

There have been two centuries of damaging conflict and irreconcilable interests that have stunted the economic growth of the region. Today in 1976 as we begin the third century the same conflict, the same social and economic myopia and the same parochialism dominate the landscape. There is little difference between the economic issues in the current Alton Dam controversy and the Eads Bridge controversy a century ago. In this case the railroad interests are seeking to destroy the river interests. In a similar fashion the conflict over the location of a new airport, has reopened the economic struggle between Illinois and Missouri. The only difference is that time is running out.

Thus with the French and Indian War, slavery, the Civil War, a great river, the steamboat, the railroads, two bridges and an interstate landed area of 4,000 square miles mixed with an insatiable, continuing greed without national purpose nor social goal we are given the economic pathology of a region groping for identity. ■■

**Hinkston Creek: We Take A Walk**  
**After A Quart Of Seagrams / Yehudah Ben-asher**

Words of love? The  
Word. The word common  
To all of us. The word  
Us. The feebleness of  
All words. The feebleness  
Of us all. The word come  
Down help from the stars.  
And when I picked up  
The stone, its roundness  
To my cheek I heard  
A frog and its word came  
To me. How could it  
Be this frog? It is  
Wordy or words that have faces  
With red noses  
Or words that grow in the soil.

**Home / Susan Fromberg Schaeffer**

Whenever we go  
Home glows like a bud  
At the edge of the vine.

Each day tugs at its petals,  
Pulls them apart.  
Finally, we can see into the flower

Veined curtains of gold  
Upended, the tables and chairs  
Waving their legs,

Sticky with time.

You are caught, you are caught then,  
Calling *come mountain, come lake*  
They are falling right past you,  
Tiny as toys

The sun strikes as they settle,  
Gold grains of pollen

You are falling down with them  
And the bed closes on you

And above you  
The photograph album  
Slams shut its cover,  
the last velvet door.

**The Poem I Wanted To Write / Tom Hansen**

Women we thought we loved,  
The meaning of leaves,  
The best time of day to die  
If we have to die,  
How many ways we are bound  
By too many words,  
And why, if God is not dead,  
The old man next door is.

It said all things  
And captured all reflections:  
Voice lost in the mist,  
Face in the window,  
Hand that held for a moment  
The things we let go of.

Getting them back is a lifetime  
Of giving up everything,  
Making the way it was  
Worth the retelling.  
And so, across the ashes of night,  
Across the fire of our days,  
I reach out my hand, I miss, I am held  
By the poem I wanted to write.

**For Lona Sleeping / Tom Hansen**

The kids pack off to  
wherever they go  
after dark.  
And you are there too.

I look in on you  
asleep –  
half on your half,  
half on the half  
we call mine –  
and think of something  
I need to tell you  
that words try too hard  
to say.

I watch you half in darkness,  
half in light;  
then tiptoe back to the kitchen  
to waste the night.  
The poem I write  
is an empty glass,  
an ashtray full in the sink.  
The rest:  
half up in smoke,  
half down in drink.



# The New House Democrats: Loyal and Liberal

A Congressional Quarterly study of House voting in the 94th Congress shows that the 75 Democratic freshmen elected in 1974 are more likely to be party loyalists and less inclined to support the conservative coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats than veteran Democrats.

The study was based on House votes cast between Jan. 14, 1975, the opening day of the first session of the 94th Congress, and June 26, 1975. During this period the House took 267 recorded votes, of which 129 were party unity votes and 60 were conservative coalition votes.

The Democratic freshmen supported a majority of their party against a majority of Republicans 79 per cent of the time, compared to 70 per cent for Democrats who had entered prior to the November 1974 congressional elections. They opposed the party majority 4 per cent less frequently, 17 per cent to 21 per cent.

Freshmen scored at the extremes of party unity support and opposition scores among Democrats. James L. Oberstar (D Minn.) had the highest party support score of any Democrat - 98 per cent. Larry P. McDonald (D Ga.), a member of the national council of the John Birch Society, had the highest party opposition score - 89 per cent. His 9 per cent support score was also the lowest of any Democrat.

Among the 13 freshmen with the highest party unity support scores were two southerners, Joseph L. Fisher and Herbert E. Harris II of Virginia. Both defeated conservative Republican incumbents in the Washington, D. C. suburbs in 1974 and have compiled voting records virtually identical to those of liberal northern Democrats.

The freshmen supported the conservative coalition an average of 28 per cent of the time, compared to a 39 per cent score for other Democrats. Freshman opposition to the conservative coalition was 68 per cent, a difference of 17 per cent from other Democrats' opposition score of 51.

The strongest freshman opposition to the conservative coalition was registered by Andrew Maguire (D N. J.), a former Ford Foundation consultant who unseated a 13-term incumbent in a heavily Republican suburban district in northern New Jersey. Maguire's opposition score was 95. He was followed by three other suburban freshmen with scores of 92. One was Thomas J. Downey (D N. Y.), the youngest member of the House and an upset winner in a conservative suburban district in eastern Long Island, who had a 92 per cent score. The others were Richard L. Ottinger (D N. Y.) and Paul E. Tsongas (D Mass.).

The Maguire and Downey scores illustrate an interesting phenomenon about freshman voting behavior. In the 1974 congressional elections, Democrats unseated Republican incumbents in 21 predominantly suburban districts around the country. *The suburbs near many major cities, such as New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, had previously been considered Republican strongholds and the base of an "emerging Republican majority" nationwide. But the Democratic suburban freshmen have been among the strongest party loyalists and least conservative members of the 94th Congress.*

The voting study also revealed that the 16 southern Democratic freshmen gave significantly more support to

the party and opposed the conservative coalition far more frequently than the veteran southern Democrats. *The figures suggest that the sectional division between northerners and southerners within the Democratic Party may be reduced in the years ahead, assuming a significant number of the freshmen are re-elected in 1976 and thereafter.* ■■

**1. Party Support.** Percentage of 129 Party Unity recorded votes between Jan. 14 and June 26, 1975, on which a representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with a majority of his party. (Party Unity roll calls are those on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans. Failure to vote lowers both Party Support and Party Opposition scores.)

**2. Party Opposition.** Percentage of 129 Party Unity recorded votes between Jan. 14 and June 26, 1975, on which a representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with a majority of his party.

**3. Conservative Coalition Support.** Percentage of 60 Conservative Coalition recorded votes between Jan. 14 and June 26, 1975, on which a representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failure to vote lowers both Coalition Support and Coalition Opposition scores. The term "conservative coalition" means a voting alliance of Republicans and southern Democrats against the northern Democrats in the House.

**4. Conservative Coalition Opposition.** Percentage of 60 Conservative Coalition recorded votes on which a representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition.

U.S. REPRESENTATIVES	Vote 1	Vote 2	Vote 3	Vote 4
<b>ILLINOIS</b>				
Metcalf (D-1)	81	5	5	77
Murphy (D-2)	87	11	38	60
Russo (D-3)	80	15	35	65
Derwinski (R-4)	71	24	73	23
Vacancy (5)	-	-	-	-
Hyde (R-6)	87	10	83	15
Collins (D-7)	70	6	10	58
Rostenkowski (D-8)	71	9	30	55
Yates (D-9)	88	9	12	85
Mikva (D-10)	90	5	3	88
Annuizio (D-11)	76	16	42	53
Crane (R-12)	82	5	93	2
McClory (R-13)	70	25	63	28
Erlenborn (R-14)	64	15	62	17
Hall (D-15)	90	10	27	73
Anderson (R-16)	54	29	52	37
O'Brien (R-17)	57	24	68	17
Michel (R-18)	83	7	73	13
Railsback (R-19)	53	28	62	23
Findley (R-20)	60	29	53	37
Madigan (R-21)	64	27	67	23
Shipley (D-22)	51	22	53	33
Price (D-23)	75	9	33	53
Simon (D-24)	87	11	17	78
<b>MISSOURI</b>				
Clay (D-1)	88	2	5	82
Symington (D-2)	77	14	40	55
Sullivan (D-3)	67	16	43	47
Randall (D-4)	64	33	67	28
Bolling (D-5)	89	8	33	65
Litton (D-6)	71	15	38	43
Taylor (R-7)	78	12	92	2
Ichord (D-8)	36	50	77	10
Hungate (D-9)	79	16	37	58
Burlison (D-10)	74	26	57	43

## Near Record Levels

Even though 1974 was an election year, members of Congress voted on 87 percent of all roll calls, coming within two points of the record established in 1959 and 1973. The 1974 figure was five points higher than the score for 1972, the last election year, and eight points higher than in 1970, date of the last mid-term election.

There were 544 votes taken in the Senate during the year, 50 fewer than in 1973 and 537 in the House, four fewer than the previous year. Each chamber was in session 16 fewer days in 1974 than in 1973.

As is usual, House members voted more often than senators, but the difference was smaller than in most recent years. The average House member voted 87 percent of the time, the average senator 86. Senators have not outvoted representatives on a percentage basis since 1964.

As they have in every year since 1962, House Republicans outvoted House Democrats, this time by a score of 88 percent to 85 percent. In the Senate,

Democrats led 87 to 86. For the two chambers together, the score was 88 for Republicans and 86 for Democrats.

In the Senate, eastern Democrats led members from all other regions with a 92 percent participation score. In the House, southern, midwestern and eastern Republicans shared the highest score — 89.

## CONSERVATIVE COALITION (1974)

### Alliance Holds Firm

Despite declining support from moderates on the Republican side of the aisle, the conservative coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats in Congress proved just about as successful in 1974 as it had been the previous year.

The coalition formed on 24 percent of the votes in 1974, compared to 23 percent in 1973. It was successful 59 percent of the time, just 2 percent fewer than in 1973.

The percentage of coalition appearances was higher in the Senate than in the House, by 30 percent to 19 percent. But the coalition was successful more often in the House. It was on the winning side on 67 percent of the votes in which it appeared in the House, and 54 percent in the Senate.

The statistics reveal a sharp swing to the left among the moderate Republicans, coming in a year when President Nixon's demise strained the bonds between differing party factions.

Both President Nixon and President Ford agreed with the coalition almost all the time. Nixon took a position on 53 coalition votes during 1974, and supported the coalition on 48 of them. Ford was with the coalition on 20 of 24 occasions, including 15 of 15 in the Senate.

*Conservative Coalition.* As used in this study, the term "conservative coalition" means a voting alliance of Republicans and southern Democrats against the northern Democrats in Congress. This meaning, rather than any philosophic definition of the "conservative" position, provides the basis for CQ's selection of coalition votes.

*Conservative Coalition Vote.* Any vote in the Senate or the House on which a majority of voting southern Democrats and a majority of voting Republicans oppose the stand taken by a majority of voting northern Democrats. Votes on which there is an even division within the ranks of voting northern Democrats, southern Democrats or Republicans are not included.

*Southern States.* The southern states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The other 37 states are grouped as the North in the study.

*Conservative Coalition Support Score.* Percentage of conservative coalition votes on which a member votes "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote, even if a member announces a stand, lower the score.

*Conservative Coalition Opposition Score.* Percentage of conservative coalition votes on which a member votes "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition.

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Vote 1 Voting Participation, 1974. Percentage of 537 recorded votes in 1974 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay."

Vote 2 Voting Participation, 93rd Congress. Percentage of 1,078 recorded votes in 1973 and 1974 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay."

Vote 3 Conservative Coalition Support, 93rd Congress. Percentage of 235 conservative coalition recorded votes in 1973 and 1974 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

Vote 4 Conservative Coalition Opposition, 93rd Congress. Percentage of 235 conservative coalition recorded votes in 1973 and 1974 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

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	Voting Participation (1974)		Conservative Coalition (1974)	
	VOTE 1	VOTE 2	VOTE 3	VOTE 4
<b>U.S. HOUSE VOTES</b>				
<b>ILLINOIS</b>				
Metcalfe (D)	84	81	4	76
Murphy, M. (D)	90	89	26	67
Hanrahan (R)	89	91	80	15
Derwinski (R)	88	87	67	20
Kluczynski (D)	78	79	23	58
Collier (R)	78†	82*	69	13
Collins (D)	92	89*	7*	82*
Rostenkowski (D)	82	82	24	62
Yates (D)	97	97	9	89
Young (R)	93	94	66	29
Annunzio (D)	95	96	32	64
Crane (R)	84	85	78	6
McClory (R)	94	93	60	35
Erlenborn (R)	92	87	60	24
Arends (R)	86	88	78	9
Anderson (R) #	84	80	45	44
O'Brien (R) #	95†	91*	74	19
Michel (R)	86	85	83	9
Railsback (R)	90	88*	54*	37*
Findley (R)	85	90	46	47
Madigan (R) #	86	91	63	29
Shipley (D) #	80	84	54	37
Price (D)	99	99	24	76
Gray (D)	57†	63*	23	44
<b>MISSOURI</b>				
Clay (D) #	70	76	2	74
Symington (D) #	83	87	25	63
Sullivan (D) #	85	85	27	60
Randall (D)	95	94*	59	37
Bolling (D)	87	81	19	59
Litton (D)	81	85	48	42
Taylor (R)	90	84	82	4
Ichord (D)	89	88	77	12
Hungate (D)	95	96	40	58
Burlison (D)	96	97	54	43
<b>U.S. SENATE VOTES</b>				
<b>ILLINOIS</b>				
Stevenson (D)	93†	93*	9	86
Percy (R)	74	78	33	48
<b>MISSOURI</b>				
Eagleton (D)	85	88	13	75
Symington (D) #	83	84	18	61

### KEY

† Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1974.

\* Not eligible for all recorded votes in 93rd Congress.

# Member absent a day or more in 1974 due to illness, or illness or death in family.

# Trend to Liberalization Seen in Both Houses

Political pressure groups that rate the performance of Congress each year expect their 1975 ratings to reflect a more liberal trend in both houses, but particularly in the House of Representatives.

Among the many interest groups that annually review the voting records of members of Congress on selected issues, Congressional Quarterly compiles the ratings of four: Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE), the National Farmers Union (NFU) and Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA).

A comparison of 1974 and 1973 ratings showed some dramatic changes in the House, and fewer in the Senate, in the number of members who had scores of either 100 or zero. But spokesmen for the groups warned against attaching too much significance to the extremes. The choice of issues, they said, can inflate or deflate scores for any year.

Shifts in percentages over the years have more meaning, said the spokesmen for the four groups. All four look for greater liberalization, based on the 1975 influx of younger, more liberal members and the departure of older conservatives.

In its 1974 ratings, ADA gave 31 representatives a zero rating, compared with 47 in 1973. The main reason for the decline, explained an ADA official, was conservative support of the liberal organization's position on congressional reform.

On the conservative side, the ACA recorded an increase of zero ratings in the House from five in 1973 to 50 in 1974. These and other changes were attributable to the inclusion of several key procedural votes in both houses for the first time in 1974, said Charles A. McManus, ACA president.

ADA ratings are based on the number of times a member voted for the ADA position on selected issues. Live pairs (defined by ADA as occurring when a member is present and withdraws his vote in order to be part of a pair) are included in the score. The member's percentage of support is his "liberal quotient." Failure to vote lowers a member's percentage.

Scores of the ACA, COPE and the NFU are unaffected by failure to vote. Thus a member can receive a 100 (or

zero) rating from the three groups if he voted in agreement with (or opposition to) one of their selected issues but did not vote on the others. ■■

## Special Interest Groups Rate

**ADA (Americans for Democratic Action)** — The percentage of the time each representative voted in accordance with or entered a live pair for the ADA position on 23 selected votes of 1974. The percentages were compiled by ADA. Failure to vote lowers the scores.

**COPE (AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education)** — The percentage of the time each representative voted or was paired in accordance with or was paired in favor of the COPE position on 11 selected votes of 1974. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by Congressional Quarterly.

**NFU (National Farmers Union)** — The percentage of the time each representative voted in accordance with, was paired for or announced for the NFU position on 14 selected votes of 1974. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by Congressional Quarterly.

**ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action)** — The percentage of the time each representative voted in accordance with the ACA position on 15 selected votes of 1974. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by ACA.

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
<b>U.S. REPRESENTATIVES RATED BY GROUPS</b>				
<b>ILLINOIS</b>				
Metcalf (D)	83	90	100	0
Murphy, M. (D)	43	91	77	31
Harrahan (R)	13	0	31	79
Derwinski (R)	9	0	40	69
Kluczynski (D)	26	90	70	33
Collier (R)	13	10	38	69
Collins (D)	74	90	77	7
Rostenkowski (D)	39	90	83	36
Yates (D)	100	100	86	0
Young (R)	22	18	57	29
Annuizio (D)	52	91	93	38
Crane (R)	9	0	0	92
McClory (R)	22	9	50	40
Erlenborn (R)	22	27	33	54
Arends (R)	4	0	42	85
Anderson (R)	43	45	64	33
O'Brien (R)	17	0	46	53
Michel (R)	9	18	43	93
Rajtsback (R)	30	45	64	46
Findley (R)	48	20	71	36
Madigan (R)	26	40	71	57
Shipley (D)	35	44	85	50
Price (D)	43	100	93	13
Gray (D)	30	86	89	10
<b>MISSOURI</b>				
Clay (D)	61	100	100	0
Symington (D)	48	90	100	14
Sullivan (D)	57	100	83	9
Randall (D)	26	64	85	53
Bolting (D)	70	100	100	0
Litton (D)	52	63	92	29
Taylor (R)	4	0	36	79
Icherd (D)	9	33	42	69
Hungate (D)	65	91	93	27
Burjison (D)	39	73	77	40

## U.S. SENATORS RATED BY GROUPS

<b>ILLINOIS</b>				
Stevenson (D)	100	73	94	11
Percy (R)	67	78	69	19
<b>MISSOURI</b>				
Eagleton (D)	71	89	88	18
Symington (D)	71	78	94	19

## Political Rating Groups

**Americans for Democratic Action:** The ADA was founded in 1947 by a group of Democrats "to map a campaign for restoring the influence of liberalism in the national and international policies of the United States."

**COPE:** COPE (AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education) was formed in December 1955, when the AFL and CIO merged, to serve as the political education arm of organized labor.

**National Farmers Union:** The National Farmers Union was founded in 1903 "to do in combination what we would be unable to do separately . . . to strengthen and enrich the farm family."

**Americans for Constitutional Action:** ACA promotes the conservative point of view and annually checks on the voting records of Congressmen.